ED 335 934 FL 019 424

AUTHOR	Hardman, Joel, Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Penn Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, Volume 6, Number 2.
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania Univ., Philadelphia. Graduate School of Education.
PUB DATE	90
NOTE	94p.; For individual papers, see FL 019 425-430.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Communication Problems; Cultural Traits; Discourse Analysis; Educational Strategies; *English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; *Intercultural Communication; Interpersonal Communication; Japanese; Language Patterns; Language Research; Language Styles; Linguistic Theory; Research Methodology; Second Language Learning; *Second Languages; Sociolinguistics; *Speech Communication; *Speech Skills; *Turkish; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS	*Compliments (Language); Japan

ABSTRACT

The working papers contained in this volume include the following: "Intercultural Communication and the Analysis of Conversation" (Nessa Wolfson); "Methods of Inquiry into Cultural Expression in Speech Behavior" (Ruth Benander); "'I Really Like Your Lifestyle': ESL Learners Learning How to Compliment" (Kristine Billmyer); "'Your Eye is Sparkling': Formulaic Expressions and Routines in Turkish" (Seran Dogancay); "Misunderstood Efforts and Missed Opportunities: An Examination of EFL in Japan" (Yoshiko Okushi); and "Discourse Marking and Elaboration and the Comprehensibility of Second Language Speakers" (Jessica Williams). (MSE)

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Volume 6, Number 2 / Fall 1990

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

Editors:
Joel Hardman, Thomas Hickey, Jeanne Newman,
Joel Schneier, and Stephanie Stanco

Language in Education Division
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania

Division Faculty

Teresa Pica, Chair
Morton Botel
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November 1990

From the Editors:

The purpose of Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL) is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in WPEL are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education.

It is our intention that WPEL will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. WPEL is sent to nearly one hundred universities worldwide.

About this issue

This issue is a special issue for WPEL. In order to honor the contributions of Dr. Nessa Wolfson to the field of educational linguistics, we have collected papers from herself and some of her former students. Our intention is to indicate some of the richness and breadth of her contribution to the study of sociolinguistics and second language acquisition.

The issue begins with Dr. Wolfson's keynote address from a conference on sociolinguistics in South Africa last spring. In it she reviews her theoretical frameworks for examining intercultural communication. Ruth Benander then looks at methods of inquiry into the issues Dr. Wolfson raises. Kristine Billmyer examines the effect of specialized instruction on the use of speech acts. Seran Dogancay describes formulaic expressions and routines in Turkish. Yoshiko Okushi looks at English EFL in Japan from the point of view of a sociolinguist. Finally, Jessica Williams investigates discourse marking and elaboration in the speech of non-native speaking teaching assistants.

We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Dean Marvin Lazerson, Lorraine Hightower, Cathy Stemmler and John Irwin.

All correspondence should be addressed to:

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics
Language in Education Division, GSE
University of Pennsylvania
3700 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104

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Intercultural communication and the analysis of conversation

Nessa Wolfson

From the editors: This paper was delivered as a keynote address at a conference on sociolinguistics in South Africa last Spring. In it Dr. Wolfson discusses the concept of sociolinguistic rules and how they vary across cultures, stressing that lack of knowledge of these rules can result in misunderstandings when people from different cultural backgrounds interact. She asserts that native speaker intuitions are unreliable indicators of such rules, and suggests means of investigating spoken interaction in ones own speech community. Finally, she reports on the results from some of her own research on complimenting in American English, comparing them to those of other researchers looking at other cultures.

Introduction

A major purpose of sociolinguistic analysis is to seek to learn how speech behavior is patterned in different societies. Because each society is different with respect to the rules and patterns of speech behavior, we must investigate the use of speech in specific societies or speech communities. Once we choose a particular speech community as the object of our investigation, we must, if we are to have valid analyses, collect data from the naturally occurring, everyday speech of men and women of differing ages, regions, social levels, ethnic backgrounds, and educational backgrounds as they use speech in differing situations and with different interlocutors.

As linguists we are used to thinking in terms of patterns and rules of language. When we come to sociolinguistic investigation, we find that very much the same principles are in operation as those we apply to the analysis of the sound system, the morphology, or the syntax of a language. Like sound patterns, sociolinguistic patterns are below the conscious level of awareness, needing careful and systematic analysis to provide valid descriptions. Like sound patterns, these sociolinguistic patterns have their features and their contrasts and their distribution. And, like sound patterns, sociolinguistic patterns differ from language to language, and from group to group.

In studying sociolinguistic rules, or rules of speaking, as Dell Hymes has called them, we need to be aware of several guiding principles or axioms. The first is that they are indeed below conscious level of awareness. Thus, although we as community members or native speakers know the rules and use them, we do not have the ability to describe them, any more than we can describe our own phonological system without first having investigated it objectively. This is not to say that sociolinguistic rules have no reality, for they do. Simply, our intuitions do not tell us what they are.

What this means is that members of a given community, although perfectly competent in the uses and interpretation of the patterns of speech behavior which exist in their own groups, are, with the exception of a few explicitly taught formulas, not even aware of the patterned nature of their own speech behavior. That is, native speakers are very well able to judge the correctness and appropriateness of the speech behavior, so that when a rule is broken, when someone not fully socialized into the culture in question (such as a non-native speaker or a child) says something that is inappropriate, the native speaker recognizes the deviation and responds to it in whatever way seems most reasonable under the circumstances. Children are frequently corrected, even by strangers. Non-native speakers, depending on their level of proficiency and on the relationship of the interlocutors, will sometimes be corrected, sometimes negatively judged.

However, what native speakers are not able to do with any degree of accuracy is to describe their own rules of speaking. It has been demonstrated many times that when native speakers are asked to explain or to identify forms which they or others in their community use in a given speech situation, their responses do not necessarily coincide with speech behavior which is actually observed and recorded.

This discrepancy between norms and behavior is readily seen in the study of speech acts. In responding to questions about how they go about giving invitations, for example, the native speakers of American English sampled by Wolfson, D'Amico-Reisner and Huber (1983) described themselves as using forms which were rarely or never heard in observations of actual interactions, and expressed strong disapproval of forms which they were heard to use all the time. If the researchers had chosen to investigate the forms used in giving invitations by asking speakers of middle class American English what they would say in a given situation, the data collected in this way would not have corresponded well with that which was gathered through the observation and recording of the spontaneous speech of the same group.

Although it has been proved again and again that native speaker opinions concerning language use are frequently quite inaccurate, this fact is not easy to accept. Even researchers and people who have had wide experience in language teaching are often resentful of the idea that they themselves are not really conscious of how they speak. Many reject the notion entirely and insist that they are perfectly capable, as native speakers, of instructing their students in sociolinguistic rules. Others rely for their research on the responses of other native speakers for information about the forms people use in certain specific situations without recognizing that the intuitions of other native speakers are neither better nor worse than their own.

It is important for sociolinguists to acknowledge that members of a given speech community tend to have strong (though often mistaken) opinions concerning their own speech behavior and are frequently disbelieving and even angry when these opinions are shown to be inaccurate. Knowing themselves to be competent users of their language(s), most people, including language teachers, make the assumption that they know exactly what they do and do not say in a given situation.

In actual fact, speakers do have strong and well-formed ideas about what they *should* say, but this is not at all the same as knowing what they *do* say. Speech norms, or community ideals concerning appropriate speech behavior, is not at all the same as actual speech use which is the behavior itself. The first principle of sociolinguistic investigation, then, is that native speaker intuitions are very limited and do not provide a valid basis upon which to build a description of the actual patterns that exist in the day to day speech of community members.

Before leaving the topic of native speaker intuition, it needs to be pointed out that while often inadequate with respect to our ability to report what we say and how we say it, our intuitions are unquestionably valuable and important in many ways. For the sociolinguist, it is critical to understand that although we do not have the ability to describe even our own speech use objectively, we often have useful insights into the meanings behind various types of expression. We know a great deal about what is appropriate in different sorts of interactions, and we can bring this knowledge to the analysis of patterns of use, once we have a good collection of examples of speech used in spontaneous daily interactions. What is important to remember is that while our intuitions as native speakers are far from adequate to the description of sociolinguistic rules, we would be completely unable to make sense of these rules if we had no intuitions at all. Inadequacy is not the same as absence of knowledge. We do not know enough about the way language is used, but this does not mean that we do not know a great deal.

Sociolinguistic diversity and its consequences

The second principle of sociolinguistic investigation of face-to-face interaction is that rules of speaking are far from universal across cultural groups. What this means is that each society has its own set of patterns and that these are different from group to group. Just as each language has its own phonological system, so each speech community has its own rules of speaking. This principle, which I call sociolinguistic relativity, has three important corollaries:

1) First, each community has its own rules, conventions, and patterns for the conduct of communication, .and these are part of a general system that reflects the values and structure of the society or group.

2) It follows from this first corollary that no two societies or communities are ever completely alike with respect to sociolinguistic patterns, just as no two languages have the same phonemic inventories.

3) Third, and most important from the point of view of intercultural communication, we must acknowledge that no society has a monopoly on correct sociolinguistic behavior. Lack of knowledge of the rules of speaking of interlocutors from other cultural backgrounds can lead to breakdowns in communication. However, when speakers recognize that it is normal for cultures to differ in this respect, such miscommunication problems can be overcome. It is only when people are convinced that their own rules are somehow the only rules, that we encounter the kind of negative stereotyping that can do serious, and perhaps irreparable damage.

Sociolinguistic studies, particularly those conducted within the framework of the ethnography of speaking, first put forth by Hymes (1962) provide striking evidence that speech communities vary, sometimes dramatically, in the ways in which they make use of their linguistic resources to perform social functions.

Thus, the norms and values which inform speakers" knowledge as to what is appropriate to say to whom and under which conditions, show considerable variation from community to community around the world, not only from one language group to another, but within language groups as well. This phenomenon, sociolinguistic relativity, has important implications for intercultural communication.

Most people recognize that languages are different from one another in such areas as phonology, syntax and lexicon. When people learn a new language, they expect to have to learn new rules of pronunciation and grammar and to memorize a new vocabulary. What is often not taken into account, however, is that the individual who wishes to acquire the ability to interact effectively with native speakers of a new language, must also learn the rules of speaking of the speech community that uses it.

With regard to intercultural misunderstanding, the problem is twofold. To begin with, people coming from different sociocultural backgrounds tend to have very different value systems and these are manifested in speech as well as in other sorts of social behavior. These differences often lead to misunderstanding. This diversity in value systems and in the ways in which these are expressed is usually not well understood.

When people coming from different backgrounds interact, they tend to judge each other's behavior according to their own value systems. The more we know about other cultures, the more we are able to recognize that being different is not a question of being better or worse - it is merely a question of being different. This principle, is usually referred to as cultural relativity. When we extend this principle to the evaluation of sociolinguistic rules, we may refer to it as sociolinguistic relativity.

The adoption of a sociolinguistically relativistic point of view is probably the single most important means of reducing the negative results of the inevitable misunderstandings that emerge when people interact across cultures. But in order to adopt this perspective, we must first understand how sociolinguistic diversity manifests itself. Some illustrations of the kinds of differences that exist and of reactions to these differences, will help to clarify the situation.

Appropriate speech usage within the context of a given society is inculcated in early childhood as part of the socialization process. For this reason, it is so linked to such attributes as good manners, honesty, sincerity and good character generally, that it is often difficult for people to accept the notion that differences along these lines is merely a reflection of different cultural backgrounds..

If there is anything at all that may be said to be universal about rules of speaking, it is the tendency for members of one speech community to judge the speech behavior of others by their own standards. It is exactly this lack of knowledge about sociolinguistic diversity which lies at the root of most intercultural misunderstanding.

It often happens that people from many different cultural backgrounds share knowledge of what is thought of as a single language, for example, English. When they interact, using English as their medium of communication, they assume that they are speaking the same language. However, if their sociolinguistic rules are different, as they often are in these situations, it may well be that they are in fact, not really speaking the same language at all..

Since *how* people speak is part of *what* they say, members of a different cultural groups interacting in the same language, may well find themselves in the position of being unable to interpret the meaning of what their culturally different interlocutors say to them, even though all the vocabulary is quite familiar. With no other frame of reference at their disposal, such speakers have little choice but to interpret what they hear according to the rules of speaking of their own native speech communities. And since the rules are very likely to be quite different, misunderstandings are almost inevitable. The result may be amusement or contempt, but it is just as likely to be annoyance, shock, or even serious insult.

One example of the way in which seemingly trivial differences in sociolinguistic patterns may have serious consequences involves the expression of approval. Americans customarily give compliments with far greater frequency and in a far wider range of speech situations than is common in most other cultures.

In cross-cultural encounters, other English speakers are often surprised by the American custom of praising belongings, accomplishments and appearance. As a result, they may react by regarding Americans with mistrust. In situations when they receive the sort of compliments which are a frequent aspect of interactions among Americans, English speakers from other sociocultural groups may interpret these compliments as effusive, insincere, and possibly motivated by ulterior considerations.

Because sociolinguistic rules of speaking are very largely unconscious, we are rarely aware of their existence unless they are brought to our attention through the shock of having them broken. When it happens that others do break our sociolinguistic rules, we often react negatively. Tolerance of sociolinguistic violations is uncommon precisely because the rules are so much a part of unconscious expectations concerning proper behavior. People do not normally take offense or make negative character judgments when someone from another dialect area pronounces a word differently or when unexpected vocabulary choices are made; indeed, such differences as those which result in a a different accent are often found very charming. Errors in rules of speaking, however, are a very different matter. An inappropriate question or the failure to voice an expected apology, or compliment, or congratulation, will not be judged as a difference in communicative style owing to intercultural dissimilarity, but rather, as a personal affront.

Reactions to violations of sociolinguistic rules are negative and even quite harsh because most individuals take their own behavior patterns for granted and are unaware that rules of speaking are far from universal. Yet, in every society there are some things that are simply not said or asked, others that are absolutely required in certain situations, and it is assumed that every well brought up person knows these rules of behavior. Each speech community has, as part of its collective wisdom, the unquestioned assumption that its own ways of speaking are the correct, proper, honest and good ways. For this reason, even people whose occupations lead them to interact frequently with people of different cultural backgrounds are prone to regard sociolinguistic rule-breaking as a manifestation of a flawed character, and if they have had what they see as negative experiences with numerous members of a particular group, they are apt to stigmatize everyone who belongs to it.

Speaking in 1990, when the use of English has spread to the point where approximately half its speakers are non-native, one would not want to suggest that the kind of miscommunication just described is limited to interactions between native speakers. As we know very well, there are large numbers of people who, while not native speakers, nevertheless have an excellent command of English and use it regularly in the course of their daily lives. Quite apart from the millions of immigrants to English speaking countries, there are considerable proportions of English speaking people in all the nations that have adopted English as an official or an additional language.

Each English speaking group has its own rules of speaking. When a language becomes accepted as an institutionalized second language and is used for purposes of national communication, it is to be expected that the sociolinguistic patterns of the speech community using it will be reflected in this tongue just as they are in the native tongue(s). As Akere (1982: 97) puts it in describing Nigerian English:

> What has happened here in Nigeria . . . and in other places where some cultural assimilation of the English language has taken place (say for example, in India) is that the resources of a second language are superimposed on an intricate system of social and kinship relationships, and on a completely different pattern of cultural outlook and social expectations. The differences in cultural outlook and social expectations between British society, on the one hand and indigenous Nigerian cultures, on the other hand, become quite obvious in the resulting pattern of address forms and greetings that characterize Nigerian English. . The intracultural variations in the uses of these linguistic forms in Nigerian English may be assumed to be systematically related to the constituents of subculture patterns. These include aspects of the social structure, cultural definitions of the situation of action, respect and deference in social relationships, the cultural philosophy and the value system, and their patterned interrelations.

What all this means in terms of sociolinguistics is that communicative competence in the English language could mean many things, depending on the identity of the speakers. As we pointed out in speaking of our second principle, different native speaking communities have different rules of speaking, just as they have different phonological rules, and therefore the model, when it comes to sociolinguistic behavior, cannot be thought of in terms of the English language as a whole, but rather in terms of the various speech communities that use it.

To come back to our original point, we must recognize that the phenomenon that we are calling sociolinguistic relativity is a very difficult concept to accept, and that differences in communicative or sociocultural conventions are all too often interpreted as intentional rudeness. Indeed, some people who communicate across cultural groups are never able to reconcile themselves to such differences or to accept the possibility that the differences they encounter are not that between behavior that is right or wrong, but between different norms or rules of behavior.

Investigating Spoken Interaction

When we turn to sociolinguistic analyses for information that will enable us to avoid miscommunication across cultures, we are immediately confronted with the fact that there are many unresolved problems to be worked out. We must be clear about whose rules of speaking are being studied, and how far we can generalize from what has been learned so far. Further, we must be aware that sociolinguistics is a young field and that although a great deal has been done, we are very far from being able to write anything approaching a grammar of sociolinguistic rules for any group.

To provide an example of the kinds of insights that may be gained by the analysis of rules of speaking, I want to report on a study of my own which has to do with the social dynamics of speech behavior among middle class speakers of American English.

The purpose of this research report is twofold. First, I want to describe how the study of sociolinguistic rules of speaking can contribute information about the interaction process and the situations in which interlocutors negotiate their relationships with one another. Second, I want report on a theory of my own concerning the way interaction is patterned within the general middle class American speech community.

The choice of looking at speech behavior in the researcher's own speech community should be understood to be purposeful and critical to the analysis. Native speaker insights can be an extremely useful aid in the interpretation of the data. This is especially true since the objective of the investigation was to cast light on the speech behavior of the researcher's own social group: the present-day American urban middle class, and what this behavior reflects about the structure of this society.

One way in which sociocultural insights may be gained through the study of rules of speaking is to focus on the way what is said is conditioned by the social identities and the relationships of the speakers. By analyzing the data in this way, we learn who has the right or the obligation to invite, to compliment,or to scold, for example, and who has the obligation to greet, to thank, or to apologize. By investigating the way speech behavior reflects the rights and obligations of community members, we can learn a great deal about how the society is structured.

If we take a somewhat different perspective, examining the relationship of speech act form, or degree of elaboration used, to the identity of the interlocutors, we can often gain insights into something much more subtle and difficult to characterize - the social strategies people in a given speech community use to accomplish their purposes - to gain cooperation, to form friendships and to keep their world running smoothly.

When we look first at the way what is said reflects cultural values, it is apparent that the most informative. kinds of speech behavior are, like compliments, thanks and apologies, of a type that reflect an implicit or explicit assessment on the part of the speaker.. In the United States, middle class English speakers compliment one another on belongings or appearance or performance; they thank or apologize for an action. The topics of these speech acts are not necessarily stated explicitly, but they must at least be understood so that they can be inferred from the context. At the other end of the speech act spectrum, we have greetings and partings, which are spoken specifically to mark beginnings and ends, openings and closings of encounters, and which do not necessarily contain evidence of cultural values in themselves. Between the two, we have invitations, which, like greetings, focus on social interaction in and of itself. Because they have to do with planning and commitment to specific activities, invitations do often give us information about the kinds of social events that different groups within the community are likely to participate in, and even about which kinds of activities are planned as opposed to spontaneous or taken for granted.

In many speech communities around the world, it is normal for friends, family and neighbors to visit without any announcement at all and certainly without an explicit invitation. In other speech communities, specifically in large complex urban societies, even a short visit to the home of another member of the family or to a close friend requires an invitation, or, at the minimum, a telephoned self-invitation. Clearly, the kinds of invitations which the researcher might collect in two such different speech communities would be very different in type and in distribution.

Using the same body of data about invitations, and focusing on the social identities of participants, rather different insights come forth. In this respect, speech behavior of all types may be equally informative. Thus, if we are interested in analyzing what the rights, obligations and privileges of speakers are vis a vis one another, or of who engages in which speech act with whom and in which situations, we can probably learn as much from studying greetings, partings and invitations as we can from analyzing thanks, apologies and compliments. And most revealing of all, if we examine the forms people use spontaneously with different interlocutors, we frequently find that the degree of elaboration corresponds not only to speakers' roles and expectations, but also to the manipulation of roles and to the formation or re-affirmation of relationships.

The Bulge: A theory of social interaction

A case in point is a consistent finding of mine that there is a qualitative difference between the speech behavior that middle class Americans use to intimates, status unequals, and strangers on the one hand, and to non-intimates, status-equal friends, co-workers, and acquaintances on the other. I call this theory *the Bulge* because of the way the frequencies of certain types of speech behavior plot out on a diagram with the two extremes showing very similar patterns, as opposed to the middle section which displays a characteristic bulge.

Put differently, when we investigate the ways in which different speech acts occur in ordinary everyday speech, and when we compare these behaviors in terms of the social relationships of the interlocutors, we find again and again that the two extremes of social distance -- minimum and maximum - seem to call forth very similar behavior, while relationships which are more toward the center show marked differences.

At first glance, this finding may appear bizarre and even counterintuitive. Why should people who are intimates behave the same way as those who are status unequals or strangers? What could these opposite relationships have in common that is not shared by non-intimates, status-equal friends, co-workers, and acquaintances? Why should there be a sharp contrast between people's behavior to their peers and their behavior to everyone else? The explanation lies in the extreme mobility of the American social system. What is important is the relative stability of relationships at the two extremes of the social distance continuum in contrast with the instability of those in the center. Put in other terms, the more status and social distance are seen as fixed, the easier it is for speakers to know what to expect of one another. In a complex urban society in which speakers may belong to a variety of social groups, relationships among speakers are often very uncertain. These relationships among status equal friends and acquaintances are dynamic, and open to negotiation. There is freedom here but not security. The emergent and relatively insecure nature of these relationships is reflected in the care people take to signal solidarity and to avoid confrontation.

For example, although compliments in the United States are exchanged between intimates and between total strangers, the great majority *(the bulge)* take place within interactions between speakers who are neither intimates nor strangers..

There is considerable evidence for the validity of the bulge theory in the work of sociolinguists over the past several years. Some examples are the work done by Holmes on apologies; by Eisenstein and Bodman on the expression of gratitude; by Beebe on refusals; by D'Amico-Reisner on the expression of disapproval; by Rabinowitz on offers; and by Boxer on indirect complaints. What these studies demonstrate is that this pattern holds for every analysis of speech acts among speakers of American English so far examined

For the purposes of this discussion, I will draw on analyses of data from several English speaking communities. Confirmation of the validity of *the bulge* theory has recently emerged in the work of three separate investigators, all working independently on the speech behavior associated with compliments. In my own most recent work, I have been engaged in collecting and analyzing data not only on the speech act of complimenting, but on the speech sequence which includes the responses to compliments as well. While Manes (1983) has reported on some of our earliest findings regarding compliment responses, and our original joint work included the collection of responses along with the compliments that initiated them, it is only since 1985 that I myself began to focus specifically on the entire complimenting sequence as a speech event which might yield new and important insights into the underlying motivation of this aspect of speech behavior. My findings so far indicate that the compliment/response sequence is a negotiated one in which two or more participants are involved in an often elaborated exchange.

In the earliest of our joint reports on compliments (Manes & Wolfson, 1980; Wolfson & Manes, 1980) we suggested that the function of the act was to create or reaffirm solidarity. My own most recent work as well as that of others (Herbert, 1986;

Holmes, 1987) has verified this hypothesis and provided additional results which add considerable depth and breadth to it.

Thus, Herbert (1986) reports on his analysis of a corpus of 1,062 compliment responses, both spontaneous and experimental, collected at the State University of New York at Binghamton. In a systematic investigation of the responses given by the native speakers of American English sampled, Herbert focused on the frequency of occurrence with which compliments were and were not accepted by addressees. His findings are striking in that speakers were "almost twice as likely to respond with some response other than *acceptance*. " (Herbert ,1986:80). As Herbert points out, this finding disagrees with the societal norm requiring that compliments be accepted with thanks.

Herbert raises the question of whether native speakers of other varieties of English follow similar behavior patterns. Basing his analysis on data collected in South Africa, he finds that patterns of acceptances were very different. Indeed, Herbert finds that "*acceptances* . . . accounted for fully seventy-six percent of the South African responses. That is, in place of the approximately one-in-three likelihood of receiving an *acceptance* response from an American speaker, the likelihood is three-in-four among English-speaking South Africans."

In a later paper (Herbert and Straight, 1986) the authors posit an explanation for this phenomenon, pointing out that social stratification is intrinsic to South African ideology. Thus, the paucity of compliments given by South Africans in contrast to the frequency with which they occur in the speech of Americans, along with the fact that Americans tend to reject and the South Africans to accept compliments, has to do with the social systems in which the two groups interact. They point out that Americans give compliments frequently because they are attempting to establish solidarity in a social context in which their own status is uncertain. For the same reason, Americans tend not to accept the compliments they receive, thus further working toward the building of solidarity by stressing equality with their interlocutors. South Africans, in contrast, function in a society in which solidarity with status-equals is assumed, and have no need to make use of compliment negotiations to establish what they already have - certainty as to their relationships with one another. Thus, the analysis put forward by Herbert (1986) and by Herbert and Straight (1986) fits neatly within the framework of the Bulge theory, supporting it through their evidence and their explanation of why Americans and South Africans differ so sharply in their behavior regarding compliment/response sequences.

explanation of why Americans and South Africans differ so sharply in their behavior regarding compliment/response sequences.

In her report of compliment response behavior in New Zealand, Holmes (1989) reports that "it is relatively rarely that New Zealanders overtly reject compliments." Holmes' ethnographic study, which includes a corpus of 484 New Zealand compliment/response sequences, yields many significant findings. Although she does not discuss the underlying ideology which may lead to this speech behavior from the same point of view as that addressed by Herbert (1986) or by Herbert and Straight (1986) it is very possible that New Zealand society, like that in the United States, is sufficiently lacking in stratification to cause speakers to behave in similar ways for similar reasons.

From the point of view of the theory under consideration, the most significant point to be taken from Holmes' study is the clear finding that most New Zealand compliments occur within what I have called the Bulge, thus lending further independent support to this analysis.

Sex-Related Differences in Speech Behavior

It should be mentioned that while I have continued to investigate sex-related differences in compliment/response behavior, both Herbert (in press) and Holmes (1989) have conducted independent studies along the same lines. What is most impressive about the findings and the analyses reported to date is the high degree of convergence in all three studies. That is, it is clear from all three reports that women not only give and receive more compliments than men do, but that their responses indicate that this speech activity functions differently among men and women, with women making far greater use of such compliment/response strategies to create and reaffirm solidarity. The fact that all three studies indicate similar patterns among women as opposed to men may well lead to some significant refinements of the Bulge theory reflecting the status-related social strategies of women.

In my own analysis, I have found that elaborated responses occur in the speech of both intimate and status-unequal females, but that the great majority of lengthy sequences are to be found in conversations among status-equal acquaintances.

An example of the kind of elaborated sequences I have found to be typical in compliment behavior among status equal women is the following exchange:

The context is one in which two female colleagues are discussing the interviewing and hiring of an employee by one of them (B) who has just said that she feels a bit uncertain about her choice.

A: You're an incredibly good judge of people.
B: Really? I never thought of myself that way.
A: Well, you are. You're always right. I've never found you to miss except maybe for a little wrinkle or two. But I'd rank you right up there with X and I've always thought she was the best I'd seen.
B: You just haven't seen the mistakes I've made.
A: I don't think you give yourself enough credit. When I first came here and you warned me to look out for D. I didn't believe you. But you were right and if I'd listened, I'd have saved myself a lot of problems.
B: Well, that one stuck way out -- anyone could have told you the same thing.
A: That's what you think. Plenty of people, including your good friend Y, are completely taken in by D.
B: That's an unusual situation. She plays up to Y -- doesn't treat him the same way she does everyone else.
A: Okay, maybe not. But your assessment of our new director of Blank was incredible. You saw him in a couple of meetings and you told me exactly what to expect. You couldn't have been more right. And I've seen you do it -- peg people right off -- more times than I can remember. You can deny it all you want, but you've got a real talent about seeing through people. I'd go with your judgment any day.
B: I think you're overestimating me. I'm wrong plenty of times and I certainly don't feel very secure about my ability to judge in this situation.
A: Well, I'll be glad to meet your candidate and let you know what I think if it'll make you feel any better.

And a second example:

Middle class white female colleagues in work-related exchange:

A: What's it about?
B: It's in reference to one of the papers in my book.
A: I love your book. I think it's terrific. Remember, I reviewed it for XYZ Journal and I said how good it was. Everybody thinks so.
B: Well, it's nice of you to say so, but I think the second half could have been a lot stronger. There are some really good papers in that section but there are some weak ones too.
A: It's still the best thing there is out on the subject.

B: Well, that's because there isn't much out yet. The field's too new. But I think the book I just finished will be a whole lot better. I'm really pleased with it.

A: From what I say, it looks terrific. I can't wait till it comes out so I can start using it. How long is it?

B: A little less than six hundred pages if you count in the references and index.

A: Six hundred pages! It turned out to be that long? You really are amazing. I don't know how you do it.

Clearly, this degree of elaboration, the repeated pattern of compliment, challenge, and justification, is reflective of a sociocultural value system and an interactional style that demands further attention since it goes to the heart of the entire issue of speech behavior and social dynamics.

Thus, the findings from the ethnographic studies discussed above all converge in revealing a qualitative difference between the speech behavior which middle class Americans use with intimates, status unequals and strangers, on the one hand, and with non-intimates, status-equal friends, co-workers and acquaintances on the other. With respect to the frequency with which a particular speech act or sequence occurs, the degree of elaboration used in performing it, and the amount of negotiation which occurs between interlocutors, the two extremes of social distance show very similar patterns as opposed to the middle section, which displays a characteristic bulge.

The fact that urban middle class Americans live in a complex and open society means that individuals are members not of a single social network in which their own place is well defined, but rather belong to a number of different social networks, both overlapping and non-overlapping, in which they must continually negotiate their roles and relationships with one another. The importance of the bulge theory lies in what it tells us about how the very openness and potential for mobility of American middle class society is reflected in our everyday speech behavior. The fact that very similar findings have emerged in research on complimenting behavior in New Zealand (Holmes 1987, 1989), as well as the report of very different behavior patterns among native speakers of South African English (Herbert and Straight in press) provides additional evidence for the analysis presented here.

Thus we see that a major contribution to the study of speech behavior is that by examining it in the social context in which it occurs, we are able to analyze patterns of social behavior and to gain insights into deep cultural values.

Conclusion

Much more work in the analysis of sociolinguistic rules remains to be done before we are in a position to make the kinds of contrasts that would lead to a full understanding of sociolinguistic relativity.and of the diversity of speech behavior upon which it is based. It is only by investigating the variety of such patterns that we may come to appreciate. the creativity with which speakers make use of their own unconscious patterns in order to accomplish the work of ongoing social interaction.

This is not to suggest that what already exists in the sociolinguistic literature is not valuable both in itself and for what it can offer us with respect to insights, information, and inspiration for further research. Much of what remains to be done will, I hope, come from students who, seeing the need and the value of the work, will devote their time and energy to adding to the description of the rules of speaking among different speech communities around the world -- descriptions that are necessary if we are to comprehend and enhance communication across cultures.

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Cultural expression in speech behavior: Methods of inquiry

Ruth Benander

In the following paper, Benander's and Nessa Wolfson's work is based on the idea that the values governing appropriateness of particular speech behaviors are culturally specific. In the process of learning a new language, a person may or may not learn the social appropriateness of particular words and phrases. Conversely, a person may learn what she believes are the norms of the new language and culture, but choose not to be guided by them in the performance of a given speech behavior.

Introduction

For the purposes of this research, we operationally define cultural values and speech behavior as follows: cultural values include beliefs concerning what is appropriate as an assessment of another member of the speech community (Wolfson, 1989). The variables of appropriateness in this study are age, sex, and social status. Speech behavior is a cluster of speech acts, and as such, has culturally specific expectations for speech community members. These expectations include where and when the speech behavior may occur and what its specific features are. A given speech behavior is defined according to the speakers' intention, and the effect the speech behavior has on the addressee (Crystal, 1985).

This research, in addition to examining values in reference to specific speech behavior, has been conducted in order to design a particular research strategy; one which can account for the acquisition and interpretation of new cultural norms by second language learners in the process of acquiring their new language. Therefore, this paper describes an exploratory study which I conducted with Wolfson that tests alternative ways to collect data on cultural values as they are expressed in speech behaviors. This study addresses several questions. First, how much does a person learn about cultural appropriateness in learning to perform the speech behaviors of the local community? Second, if a person does learn the new models of appropriateness, will she choose to use them? Third, how can SLA researchers collect data that will provide answers to these questions?

I will outline the process of refining a method for collecting data on norms of appropriateness, or cultural values, expressed in speech behaviors. I will also discuss the differences between the data collected from written questionnaires and interviews. Finally, I will suggest how this kind of research can inform what we choose to teach and what second language teachers can expect their students to use from what they are taught.

Within the field of TESOL there has been a lot of sociolinguistic description using two main methods for data collection: observation of what people actually say (Beebe, 1985; Herbert, 1986; Manes, 1983; Wolfson and Manes, 1980), and discourse completion tests to elicit what people think they should say (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983). These methods are useful for describing speech behavior, but these methods are not adequate for investigating a speaker's awareness of the situational appropriateness of her language use (Hymes, 1983).

Observation provides excellent data on performance. It describes what people do; there can be no argument with the validity of this kind of data. However, it does not give us direct access to the values held by members of a given community. While the researcher can infer from context and structure what the interaction meant to the person, the data is still only behavioral data, and any statements of emic meaning can only be inferential.

Written questionnaires elicit what a speaker thinks should happen in a given circumstance and thus is one way to try to understand what cultural norms a speaker feels are appropriate. Questionnaires as tools of inquiry are focused and yield a lot of data in a short time (Beebe, 1985). Allowing the person to think about the situation and purposefully write down what they think is right should allow the person to express her knowledge without the pressures of instant communication that interfere with actual performance. However, as has been pointed out elsewhere (Wolfson, 1989; Beebe, 1985), the questionnaire is actually limited by virtue of the written medium in terms of style and space.

The expedient answer to complaints about the limitations of a written questionnaire is that the researcher would do more ethnographic observation to add depth to the written data. However, a focused questionnaire combined with observations still lacks some information that will illuminate the process a person goes through each time she must negotiate an interaction and reinterpret cultural rules anew for each situation and interlocutor. I suggest that interviews can provide the additional information that questionnaires and observation miss.

In sociolinguistics the interview is sometimes criticized in that it is such an artificial setting that no natural language can ever be gathered (Moreman, 1988). However, as with both questionnaires and observation, if you ask the right kinds of questions, you will be able to use the data obtained from interviews. This method of gathering data cannot replace observation for the collection of actual behavior, but it does provide the performers perceptions which may differ radically from her observed performance.

The advantage of the interview situation is that it does not require the participant to alternate channels from spoken to written. The focus of the interview can be as tight as that of a questionnaire, but the participant can guide the conversation to highlight what is important to her. The researcher can present controlled situations, but the participant can elaborate on all the options that occur to her and not limit herself to the one response that she thinks might be right. During an interview, the participant has more freedom to respond to the situations the researcher presents; she has the opportunity to explain why she understands each situation the way she does. Although it is true that the personal interview is more time consuming, once this information is gathered, the interview data would be richer and more useful for beginning to answer questions of cultural interpretation. Of course it is imperative that the interview be conducted with the proper rigor and the acknowledgement that the interview itself is a specific speech event.

The Study

In order to focus our inquiry into cultural values, we chose to look at compliments. We chose compliments because their structure has been extensively described not only for several dialects of English (Holmes, 1985) (Wolfson, 1989) but also for Polish (Herbert, 1986), Spanish (Valdez and Pino, 1981) and Japanese (Daikuhara, 1986). The availability of detailed description and cross-cultural data makes this particular speech behavior a good candidate for deeper cultural research. Compliments are positive assessments. Who has the right to judge who, and just what these people are allowed to judge, highlights relative social status. Many utterances have a surface structure that looks like a positive assessment, but due to context are interpreted as negative assessments, even if the addresser might have intended for the utterance to be a compliment. For example, a passenger might comment to the driver of the car, "What a lovely red light you just drove through."

In this initial study, Japanese women and American women judged compliments gathered from observations of American English interactions. The decision to contrast English with Japanese speakers was based on the known information that many norms of complimenting behavior differ between Japanese and English (Daikuhara, 1986).

In the interest of obtaining a large amount of focused data in a short time, we used a written questionnaire. Since we were not interested in speakers' performances, we decided not to use a discourse completion test. Instead, we created a "context completion and evaluation test" to try to get at judgements of appropriateness and cultural values. In this questionnaire, we provided 10 short dialogues taken from observed interactions and asked the participant to write down what the situation would be and whether what the people said to each other was "nice'. We asked participants to identify the sex, age and relationship of the people in each dialog. We chose the word "nice" since it had vague semantic value that connoted positive assessment and/or appropriateness. We hoped that the purposefully vague nature of the word would help the participant feel unrestricted in which judgement she chose to focus on. The native speakers of English did, in fact, make a distinction between appropriate and positive assessment, but the native speakers of Japanese did not.

Upon administering the questionnaire, we discovered several problems. Several respondents reported that they felt that writing the answers was too hard since there were situations where the compliment was appropriate and others where it was inappropriate. In a brief initial interview, one Japanese woman made the astute observation that she felt very inhibited writing her answers in her second language and felt she could not adequately express the intricate nuances of each situation due to space limitations. In the written responses, another Japanese woman made a semantic distinction concerning having something done for one vs.. doing a job herself that was far from clear in her written response.

Frustrated again by the limitations of a written questionnaire we reconsidered how to ask our questions. The major limitation of the questionnaire was the constraint imposed by the written form. In order to avoid restricting the type or amount of information the respondent could give, Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) administered a questionnaire verbally in their work on expressions of gratitude. Building on Eisenstein and Bodman's idea of presenting the questionnaire verbally, we used our questionnaire as the basis for a discussion with a participant. We hoped that discussing the questionnaire would allow the respondent to elaborate on her ideas, and allow negotiation with the interviewer to overcome linguistic problems. Turning the questionnaire into a conversation allowed the researcher to clarify any confusion the respondent might have with vague terminology and still allow her to freely express herself. A conversation would also allow a bi-cultural person to elaborate on the different ways she understands a situation and express her dual competence and her ability (or inability) to switch from one set of cultural values to another. (The many cautions of this kind of interview are expertly outlined in Briggs, 1986; and Spradley, 1979).

We received written questionnaires from 3 Japanese women who had lived in the U.S. for under six months, and 3 written questionnaires from American English speaking women of the same age. We interviewed 5 Japanese women and 5 American women using the questions from the written questionnaire as the basis for the discussion. Our analysis a) compared written responses to interview responses; and b) American responses to Japanese responses. Our observations based on this data are not intended to be definitive conclusions concerning cultural beliefs; rather, we want our observations to evaluate the utility of this method of research for the study of pragmatics and its applications to pedagogy.

In comparing the Japanese written and spoken data we found the predicted result: the spoken answers were longer, more elaborate, and included much more variety than the written answers. The interviews also included anecdotes concerning actual experiences the respondents had relating to the dialog in question. During a discussion of the following dialog, a Japanese woman recounted how she discovered the situation where "That's a good question" was not a compliment.

Dialog #1

A: Very good question. I'm glad you asked it. You're really thinking.
B: (embarrassed smile)

The respondent mentioned that the first few times she heard her professor say this to her after she asked a question in class, she thought the professor was complimenting her English. She then thought he was complimenting her question. After several weeks she realized that this phrase was a conversation filler that the professor used when he needed time to think. As shown by this example, the interview data had the benefit of depth, specificity, alternative interpretations, and the opportunity to learn how the respondent came to interpret new information.

The most interesting comparison of written and spoken data came from comparing the written questionnaire and interview of the same person. This comparison only emphasized the observations already made. For example, the following dialog could have several interpretations but this fact only came through in the interview situation.

Dialog #2

A: Hi
B: Hi
A: you look very ***
B: I beg your pardon?
A: You look very professional and businesslike.
B: (laughs)

Several Japanese women we interviewed pointed out that if A were referring to B's personality, then this is not a positive assessment of B insinuating that B is cold and unfriendly. If A were referring to B's clothing, then the remark could be a positive assessment on A's part whether B chose to interpret it that way or not. In the questionnaires, the respondents had only written down the positive assessment of clothing as the context for this interaction.

Anecdotes also highlighted sharp contrasts between American interpretations of the situations and the Japanese interpretations.
The following situation was a case in point:

Dialog #3

A: Your hair! I really like it.
B: You don't think it's too short?
A: No, it looks just fine.
B: I'm just not used to it yet. Do you really like it?
A: Yeah, it looks fine.

The Japanese respondent said that this conversation was perfect. It was one of the paradigms she learned in the conversational strategies class that she attended, and was recommended because B leaves each turn open to continue the conversation. The American women, in both written and spoken format, indicated that they felt that B was inappropriately fishing for compliments and would probably be annoying A.

Another sharp difference in interpretation occurred with the following conversation:

Dialog #4

A: What school are you in?
B: Wharton.
A: Oh, you're really smart.
B: Thank you. That is a really tough school.

The Japanese respondents judged this conversation to be fine if it were between friends. If it happened between acquaintances, B would be rude from being too proud, but A would be fine. The Americans judged both speakers very harshly even if they were friends interpreting A to be "stupid," or "an airhead" while B is suggested to be "arrogant," "conceited" or "a jerk."

Another difference between the Japanese interpretations of the compliments and the American interpretations was that the Americans focused more on the negative use of speech acts which appeared to be compliments on the surface. In every case, the Americans pointed out how the apparent compliment could be interpreted by the addressee as either inappropriate or unpleasant as well as appropriate and pleasant. Two of the Japanese women commented on how this situation might be true in one or two cases, but did not recognise the variability of the compliments meaning nearly as often as the American respondents.

Americans focused on the fact that a person creates an impression of her personality by what kind of compliments she gives and how she responds to complimenting. The Japanese women focused more on how a person responds, valuing deference to the complimenter. In contrast, the American women felt that being rude was appropriate if the compliment was not interpreted as a positive assessment but instead as a joke, or a come on. For example, judgements of appropriateness differed for the following conversation:

Dialog #5

A: You smell so good. What perfume are you wearing?
B: (no answer)

The American women claimed that B's response is appropriate (though not nice) if A's relationship to B is inappropriate for such a comment (stranger, older, using utterance as a pick-up line). The Japanese women insisted that B does not have the option of not responding. She must respond even if to tell A that she is annoyed.

In terms of similarities, both Japanese and American women felt that anything was okay if it was between close friends. Most of the American and Japanese women judged the compliments to be given from women, and if men were interpreted as giving many of the compliments, the respondent suggested they would be marginal men. The most striking information that came from the interview data that did not show up in observation nor in the questionnaires, was the issue of knowledge vs. use of new cultural norms. The Japanese respondents commented frequently "This is the way an American would do it, but I would do it less directly", or "Americans wouldn't just smile. They would say something even if its not so good. But I always do that: smile." In many cases the Japanese women appear to be aware of the American norms (supported by the American women's responses), but choose the Japanese behavior especially in the cases of responding to compliments. Here we see the performance of speech behavior serving as a form of cultural boundary maintenance.

Conclusion

This paper outlines the evolution of a method that can help researchers learn more about a speakers cultural awareness and values. Neither observation nor written questionnaires can provide the insights that interviews can. Of course interviews alone are insufficient, but used in combination with observations and perhaps questionnaires, they can be very informative.

Interviews also provide valuable data in the study of pragmatics since it suggests that speakers can have dual competence, but may choose to use the values of their home culture as the basis of their performance. These personal experiences will be an inherent part of how a learner internalizes the new culture and presents herself in the language of the community.

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"I really like your lifestyle": ESL Learners Learning How to Compliment

Kristine Billmyer
English Language Programs at
The University of Pennsylvania

In order to investigate the effect of classroom instruction on actual encounters between native and non-native speakers of English, this study was conducted which compares the production of compliments and replies to compliments by two different groups of ESL learners during social interactions with native speakers of the target language. One group is given formal instruction in the rules of complimenting in American English, and one is not. Billmyer concludes that formal instruction of social rules of language use can assist learners in communicating more appropriately with native speakers of the target language in meaningful social interaction outside of the classroom.

Recent research in sociolinguistics and second language acquisition has provided compelling evidence that in order to acquire native-like competence, learners must not only develop their interlanguage at the levels of syntax, morphology, and phonology, but they must also acquire the target language speech community's rules for producing appropriate utterances and understanding them in a given social context (Canale and Swain, 1980; Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1971; Paulston, 1974; Taylor and Wolfson, 1978; Wolfson, 1983b). There is a growing body of evidence, both empirical and anecdotal, which shows that non-native speakers, even at the advanced level of linguistic proficiency, have considerable difficulty acquiring the rules for communicating appropriately (Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz, 1985; Carrell and Konneker, 1981; Cohen and Olshtain, 1981; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; Scarcella, 1979; Takahashi and Beebe, 1987; Thomas, 1983, 1984; Wolfson, 1989).

Of interest to second language researchers and classroom teachers today is whether and in what ways formal instruction can promote the development of appropriate use of the target language. Although Cohen and Olshtain (1988) have shown positive effects for instruction in the rules for apologizing, their study was limited to learners' responses on written tests given in the classroom. To date no one has ascertained whether this effect extends beyond the classroom into actual encounters with native speakers of the target language.

In order to investigate this question, a study was conducted which compared the production of compliments and replies to compliments by two different groups of ESL learners during social interactions with native speakers of the target language. One group was given formal instruction in the rules of complimenting in American English, and one was not.

Rationale for Compliments

There are several reasons compliments were targeted for this study. The first reason is that ethnographic research conducted in 6 English-speaking speech communities around the world has provided very detailed descriptions of the ways in which native speakers perform compliment routines, and the knowledge they have regarding the functions of compliments, appropriate topics and contexts for complimenting, and the social distribution of compliments (Herbert, 1986, 1987, in press; Herbert and Straight, 1989; Holmes, 1988a, 1988b; Knapp, et al., 1984; Manes, 1983; Manes and Wolfson, 1981; Pomerantz, 1978; Wolfson, 1981a, 1981b, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1989; Wolfson and Manes, 1980). The knowledge of compliments available to researchers today has come a long way toward achieving observational and descriptive adequacy.

The second reason compliments were selected for study is that they are useful for learners to know about. Wolfson and Manes (1980) have noted that complimenting serves as an important social strategy especially for women in creating or affirming social relationships. They are multifunctional and ubiquitous, and are heard as parts of greetings, farewells, and expressions of gratitude. Compliments can also be used to soften the effects of criticism (Wolfson, 1983a) or other face-threatening acts such as requests (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Perhaps more to the point for learners of a second language, compliments can serve as openers for conversational interactions with native speakers of the target language and in many cases can help sustain the interaction. The following exchange demonstrates this point.

NNS: I like your sweater. It's very nice.
NS: Oh, thank you.
NNS: Yeah, I like it.

NS: Yeah, I got this actually someplace on South Street.
NNS: Yeah, but I didn't see so many times.
NS: Yeah, so I was just shopping and I saw this in the store.
NNS: Yeah it's good. Oh you mean on the street or in the shop?
NS: In the shop.
NNS: Um hmm.
NS: It's just like, it's comfortable.
NNS: Yeah yeah I agree. Color is very nice I think. Pink is not so bright but not so mellow. It's a very clear pink. I like it.
NS: I usually wear, like last year I only wore black.
NNS: Oh really?
NS: Yeah, practically everything I owned was black. I really like black, but you know, after a while you want a bit of color.
NNS: Uh huh.
NS: So this was like my compromise. Pink and black.
NNS: So maybe next year less black. (Both laugh)

In the preceding example the non-native speaker gives seven compliments which are uttered in her first, second, sixth, and tenth turns. Both the adroit placement of these compliments and the content provide her conversation partner with multiple opportunities to disclose a number of details about the complimented item, and about her own personal preferences.

Therefore, learning to compliment and reply to compliments appropriately and effectively may assist learners in creating their own opportunities to engage in meaningful social interaction with native speakers. This may in turn lead to the sort of negotiated interaction that is most relevant to interlanguage development (Hatch, 1978; Krashen, 1981, 1982; Long, 1981; Pica, 1987; Pica, Doughty, Young, 1986).

Conversely, not knowing the rules for complimenting can sometimes result in awkward or uncomfortable moments for learners. Neglecting to give a compliment when one is expected can be interpreted as a sign of disapproval. Or, as Holmes and Brown (1987) demonstrate, giving a compliment which fails due to linguistic or pragmatic reasons can cause embarrassment or offense, as in the case of the male Malaysian student who said to his female teacher, "You are wearing a lovely dress. It fits you." This compliment failed on pragmatic grounds because the speaker was unaware of restrictions on compliments given by males to females and by lower status to higher status individuals. It failed as well for sociolinguistic reasons because the speaker used the word "fits" rather than a more appropriate word such as "suits".

The Research Question and Design

The research question which motivated this study, stated in general terms is as follows: Will classroom instruction biased toward the explicit formalization of the rules of speaking for complimenting accelerate the development of second language learners' productions of compliments and replies to compliments in interactions with native speakers of American English?

The research design was quasi-experimental, consisting of two groups of research participants (a tutored and an untutored group) with 9 adult ESL learners in each group. Participants were selected from a pool of foreign students studying English as a second language at the University of Pennsylvania. There were 18 female Japanese learners of English from intermediate to advanced levels of English proficiency, and who had lived in the US for six months or less. The two groups were homogeneous with respect to native language, gender, level of English language proficiency, age, and length of residence. However, within each group there was a range of ages and levels of English language proficiency.

The choice of Japanese learners of English for this study was deliberate. To be able to show an effect for instruction the study needed a population of learners whose cultural and linguistic rules for complimenting differ from the target language speech community's rules. While no thorough description of Japanese complimenting behavior exists, there are a few empirical studies which indicate some fundamental differences between complimenting in English and Japanese (Barnlund and Araki, 1985; Daikuhara, 1986). These differences include a tendency for the Japanese to compliment less frequently than Americans, and on different topics, to use a more restricted adjectival repertoire with frequent use of one semantically ambiguous adjective, and a tendency to deny or politely accept compliments more frequently than Americans.

During the twelve-week period in which data were collected, the non-native learners in both groups were enrolled in general skills ESL courses for a total of 140 hours of instruction. Learners in the tutored group received an additional six hours of instruction biased toward the explicit presentation of the rules for complimenting and replying to compliments. Participants in the untutored group did not receive this supplemental instruction.

In addition to their enrollment in ESL courses these individuals also participated in a special Conversation Partners Program with native speakers of American English who were studying Japanese as a foreign language. The matched pairs met weekly over the course of a semester to practice their second and foreign languages and make friends.

The context for assessing the efficacy of instruction was the weekly conversation meetings learners had with their American partners. At these meetings participants in both groups were asked to perform certain compliment-inducing tasks such as showing photos of their homes and family members, reporting on an accomplishment, visiting each other's homes, teaching each other a proverb in their native language, and showing a recently purchased item of apparel. To collect both non-native and native baseline data each task was performed once by the Japanese partner and once by the American partner. Research participants recorded the first thirty minutes of their conversations in English. This included task-related and non-task-related talk. Compliment data from these recordings were later transcribed and compared for differences between the tutored and the untutored groups.

Instruction

The instructional component was organized as follows. The tutored group received six hours of instruction on complimenting during the 4th and 5th week of the study. Studies on non-native performance of speech acts such as refusing, thanking, and apologizing indicate that mastering the linguistic routines is only one of several essential aspects of speech act performance. Moreover, the difficulties learners encounter include failure to judge the pragmatic force of an utterance, and miscalculations regarding social and cultural norms and taboos (Holmes and Brown, 1987; Thomas, 1983). Some researchers regard the source of these failures to be the pragmatically inappropriate transfer of first language rules of speech act usage to the target language (Beebe, et al., 1985, Takahashi and Beebe, 1987; Thomas, 1983, 1984). Therefore, keeping in mind the linguistic, social, and cultural differences in realizing the speech act of complimenting, the aims of instruction were:

1) to develop the learners' linguistic and sociolinguistic skills in interpreting and expressing compliments; and

2) to develop their metapragmatic awareness of the target culture's social and cultural norms and values related to complimenting.

The instructional component of the study included the following content:

Compliments:

1. Compliment forms (sentence patterns, intensifier-adjective, adjective-noun collocations)
2. Social and discourse functions: a social strategy used to create or maintain relationships; as invitations to talk; as greetings, farewells, expressions of gratitude
3. Sociolinguistic and pragmatic aspects of complimenting: appropriate contexts and topics; effect of social and situational variables (such as gender, age, status, social distance, setting)
4. Sociocultural assumptions: similarities and differences

Replies to Compliments:

1. Functional categories of response types: accept, deflect, reject
2. Effect of each type on interaction:
    Accept - polite but does not sustain talk
    Reject - a potentially face-threatening act
    Deflect - preferred by native-speakers; helps to sustain interaction
3. Repertoire of deflect types of replies:
    Comment/history
    Shift credit
    Downgrade
    Question/request reassurance
    Return

The materials and activities which were used to achieve these objectives provided opportunities for both implicit and explicit learning (Rutherford, 1987) and included:

1. **Authentic sources of native speaker compliment input**

This included data collected by the learners outside the classroom as well as data provided by the investigator from studies of complimenting and from commercially prepared materials. Students themselves also generated compliment input through role plays and pair practice.

2. **Opportunities for implicit learning**
   Students analyzed these data to deduce the social rules which govern the choice of compliment topics, contexts, relative frequencies, and variation as a function of gender, social distance, status, and role relationship. Students also compared non-native compliment data with native speaker data and made judgments on appropriateness.
3. **Explicit instruction**
   The forms and functions of compliments and replies, the topics and contexts for compliments, and the social, cultural and situational factors which condition complimenting in American English were presented by means of teacher explanation and information sheets summarizing the points of the lessons.
4. **Practice and feedback sessions**
   This component consisted of compliment-specific role plays as well as strategic interactions (Di Pietro, 1987) in which compliments were not specified but learners had to assess the situation and determine whether to compliment or not.

Analysis

In order to operationalize the generally-stated research question, several measures of learner performance of compliments and replies to compliments were selected for analysis:

Compliments

1. Frequency of occurrence of norm-appropriate compliments
2. Level of spontaneity: speaker-initiated, task-related, spontaneous, and addressee-induced
3. Level of appropriateness
4. Well-formedness of utterances
5. Adjectival repertoire

It was hypothesized that learners in the tutored group would produce a higher frequency of norm-appropriate, speaker-initiated compliments than learners in the untutored group, and that these compliments would be linguistically better formed, and make use of a wider range of semantically positive adjectives.

Replies to Compliments

Two aspects of replies given by the non-native speakers were examined:

1. Reply type and its effect on the interaction
2. Length of reply

It was hypothesized that learners in the tutored group would produce more compliment responses in the deflect category than learners in the untutored group, and that these replies would be longer and more effective at sustaining the interaction.

Three native speakers trained in sociolinguistics assisted the investigator in the initial classification and coding of utterances. The categories assigned to each compliment were jointly agreed upon.

Results

Compliments

1. Frequency of norm-appropriate compliments

As Figure 1 shows, on each post-instruction task (Tasks 3-9), learners in the tutored group, that is those instructed in the rules of complimenting, consistently produced a greater number of norm-appropriate compliments than learners in the untutored group.

Figure 1: Number of Compliments per Task for Untutored and Tutored Groups

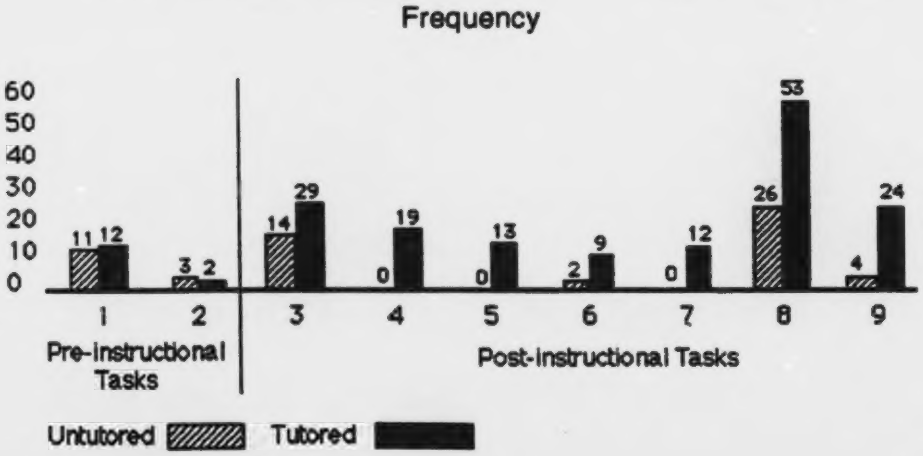

Table 1 shows the cumulative frequency for compliments produced by each group to be: 46 compliments for the untutored group and 149 compliments for the tutored group. This represents a threefold difference between the two groups, significant at the .05 level of confidence, in the number of compliments given in appropriate contexts. Furthermore, the number of norm-appropriate compliments given by learners in the tutored group compared more favorably with the number given by the two groups of native speakers of American English in this study (109 and 131 compliments for each group).

Table 1: Mean Frequencies for Untutored and Tutored Groups

	N	# Compliments	Mean	Min	Max	SD
Untutored	9	46	5.11	1	11	3.14
Tutored	9	149	16.6	4	39	13

t= 2.57* p < .05, df=16

2. Level of spontaneity

This measure of performance reveals learners' tendencies to take advantage of opportunities to give contextually appropriate compliments, independently of cues which were present in the compliment-inducing tasks or those provided by their partners' direct elicitations. Table 2 shows that there were significant differences between the two groups. First, learners in the untutored group produced very few (less than 16%) truly spontaneous, self-initiated compliments. The vast majority of compliments given by untutored learners were induced by the addressee either indirectly by means of an attention-getting device, such as "This is my new coat." or more directly through elicitation as in "How do you like the tea?" or "This is really cute, isn't it?" In fact, these addressee-induced compliments accounted for 22% of the compliment utterances given by untutored learners.

By contrast, over half of the compliments given by the tutored learners were spontaneous. These learners were far more skilled in identifying appropriate topics and contexts for giving compliments to their American partners. Furthermore, only 2% of the compliments produced by the tutored learners were directly elicited.

Although there is no way to know for sure what caused this high occurrence of addressee-induced compliments among the untutored group of learners, one could hazard a guess that the Americans partners of these learners simply were not being praised often enough in certain expected contexts. As a result they either complimented themselves or fished for compliments from their partners.

Table 2: Level of Speaker Initiation

	Untutored		Tutored	
	N	%	N	%
Spontaneous	9	(15.3)	80	(52.6)
Task-related	37	(62.7)	69	(45.4)
Addressee-induced	13	(22.1)	3	(2.0)

Chi square = 39.170* p < .001, df=2

3. Level of appropriateness

No significant differences were found in the level of appropriateness of compliments. As Table 3 shows most utterances produced by both groups of speakers were norm-appropriate. This finding indicates that speakers in both groups were mindful of the social and cultural rules that govern choice of topic, level of intimacy, and appropriate encoding.

Table 3: Level of Appropriateness

	Untutored		Tutored	
	N	%	N	%
Native norm appropriate	43	(93.5)	143	(95.4)
Troublesome	3	(6.5)	6	(4.0)
Non-normative	0	(0)	1	(0.6)

4. Linguistic well-formedness

This measure of performance also revealed no significant differences, as shown by Table 4. The vast majority of utterances for both groups of learners were native-like or contained minor errors in syntax, lexis or phonology which were not serious enough to interfere with comprehensibility. This finding is not too surprising considering that relatively little linguistic sophistication is required in order to give a well-formed compliment. In fact one or two words, not even a complete sentence, are all that is really necessary. This finding has important pedagogical implications in view of the many commercially produced materials which endlessly drill the forms of these social routines.

Table 4: Linguistic Well-formedness

	Untutored		Tutored	
	N	%	N	%
Native-like/Acceptable	44	(88)	147	(98)
Troublesome	2	(4)	2	(1.3)
Unintelligible/Failed Attempt	4	(8)	1	(0.7)

5. Adjectival repertoire

On this measure of performance there are differences between the two groups. Learners in the tutored group used a more extensive repertoire of semantically positive adjectives than learners in the untutored group. In total numbers only 7 different adjectives were represented in compliments given by the untutored group, whereas learners in the tutored group overall produced a total of 24 different semantically positive adjectives. In terms of mean scores, individuals who received instruction in intensifier-adjective and adjective-noun collocations on average used twice as many different adjectives as did learners who had not received this instruction. Table 5 reports these findings which were significant at the .05 level.

Table 5: Adjectival Repertoire

Number of Different Semantically Positive Adjectives

Untutored	7
Tutored	24

	N	Mean	Min	Max	SD
Untutored	9	2.56	1	5	1.33
Tutored	9	5.44	2	13	3.64

t = 2.23* p < .05, df = 16

Replies to Compliments

1. Reply type and its effect on the interaction

Before reporting these findings it would be useful to give some background on the meaning of this category. Previous studies on compliment responses have shown that speakers of American and New Zealand English prefer replies which deflect or evade praise over replies which express agreement or appreciation (see Billmyer, 1990 for a review of this research). The least preferred type of reply is that which rejects or denies the compliment (Herbert, 1986). Deflect-type replies include commenting or giving some history on the complimented item ("I got it at Wanamakers"), shifting credit to another ("My mother gave it to me"), downgrading the complimented item ("It was on sale"), returning the compliment ("Yours is nice too"), or requesting reassurance ("Do you really think so?"). According to Pomerantz (1978), these responses are preferred by speakers of American English because they allow the recipient of a compliment to reconcile two conflicting conversational maxims which require her first to agree with the speaker and at the same time to avoid self praise. It has also been demonstrated (as seen in an earlier example in this paper) that replies of this type quite often lead into an elaborated sequence of exchanges whereby commentary on the complimented item provides new topics for conversation and further opportunities to interact. It is just this type of strategy that learners of second languages might find useful in their attempts to interact more successfully with native speakers and learn more about their second language.

Based on evidence about the rules for replying to compliments among speakers of Japanese, it has been suggested that this type of reply is not necessarily preferred (Daikuhara, 1986). In fact rules regarding deference and politeness often require the recipient of a compliment to avoid self-praise, leading in many instances to denial or rejection. Therefore, one of the goals of instruction in complimenting was to raise the learners' awareness of these differences and at the same time increase their repertoire of deflect response types which are preferred by speakers of American English.

Table 6: Reply Types

	Untutored		**Tutored**	
Reply Type	N	%	N	%
Accept (Thanks, agree)	27	(43.6)	18	(25.7)
Deflect (Comment, shift credit, return, downgrade, question)	10	(16.1)	47	(67.2)
Reject (Deny, ignore, disagree)	25	(40.3)	5	(7.1)

Chi square = 38.809* p < .05, df = 2

Table 6 compares the raw numbers and percentages of reply types for learners in both groups. Response types for learners in the untutored group were predominantly acceptance or rejection replies. In essence these learners relied on simple expressions of appreciation and agreement ("thank you" "yes") -- or denial ("no" "that's not true") -- or they ignored the compliment altogether by means of silence, laughter, or by shifting to a new topic. By contrast, learners in the tutored group responded to 67% of the compliments with replies in the deflect category. These learners exhibited skill in using a variety of deflect strategies. Furthermore, their responses were longer and more closely approximated the length of the native speakers' replies. Both the type of reply and its length appeared to have a salutary effect on sustaining interaction and sharing the conversational burden. An example from both groups shows this contrast more dramatically:

Untutored:

NS: Oh this is a really nice picture
NNS: Thank you
NS: I like it. I like it.
NNS: (silence)
NS: That's nice.
NNS: (silence)
NS: So you keep these in your room?
NNS: Yes.

Tutored:

(Re: the NNS's beach bag)
NS: I see them sell these at I like them
NNS: Really? It's made in Korea, and it I think it's useful and it lasts a long time and during summertime I think I can use this for several summertime at least for 5 years or something.
NS: yeah
NNS: so I think it's a good choice
NS: It would be fun to go to the beach with that
NNS: yeah

NS: I like the colors
NNS: Uh huh yeah there's various colors and hard to find just this one.
NS: It's a beautiful bag. I love the colors. I see them selling //it
NNS: //yeah//
NS: //on 40th street and they have such beautiful colors on the bag and they're handmade too which is great. I love how they I wish I knew how to do more weaving and knitting and things like that.
NNS: Oh yeah you do knitting?

Summary and Conclusion

On five out of seven measures of performance, subjects in the tutored group exhibited behavior more closely approximating native speaker norms in complimenting than did subjects in the untutored group. These findings lend considerable support to the hypothesis that formal instruction concerning the social rules of language use given in the classroom can assist learners in communicating more appropriately with native speakers of the target language in meaningful social interaction outside of the classroom.

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Your eye is sparkling: Formulaic expressions and routines in Turkish[1]

Seran Dogancay

This paper reviews the literature on formulaic expressions and their importance to the field of TESOL. Dogancay analyzes the structure and function of formulaic expressions in taped conversations of native speakers of Turkish. She describes different structures and functions of pragmatic idioms: those using exaggeration, negative connotations, or self-reference, those occuring in adjacency pairs, and others. Dogancay concludes that the study of prefabricated expressions can reveal not only a substantial part of the communicative competence of the native speakers of a language, but also the values and beliefs of a society.

When I was a child, I used to stay with my grandmother during the summer holidays and we would recount our dreams over breakfast. When I would start to recount my dream from the previous night, my grandmother would say, "*Hayirdir insallah*" [God grant it be good]. But when I failed to say anything when it was her turn to relate her dream, she would tell me, "say '*hayirdir inşallah*'," prompting me to utter this conventionalized linguistic formula.

This anecdote serves to point out three factors about formulaic expressions. First, there are certain pre-coded utterances that are conventionally triggered by certain events and their use is expected and deemed appropriate (though not necessarily obligatory) because they are felt to be part of everyday politeness formulae. Second, the fact that English does not have an equivalent formula in its repertoire of conversational routines shows that there are cultural differences governing their usage. And finally, some of these routines are explicitly taught and their use is prompted by adults during the course of socializing children. This latter point seems especially relevant for those routines that serve as politeness formulae in a society. Indeed, all of us have witnessed scenes of parents' prompting their children to say 'please' and 'thank you' to adults. When children accept a gift with just a smile, parents tell them, "Say 'thank you' Joe," or more indirectly, "Aren't we supposed to say something, Joe?"

Davies (1987) draws attention to the fact that these politeness formulae are one of the few components of a language which parents attempt to teach their children. Gleason and Weintraub (1975) say that ritualized formulae are acquired differently from the rest of a language. Ferguson (1979) goes even further by suggesting that these ritualized formulae might be part of the innate predisposition to language. He finds it surprising that such formulae, which he calls "little snippets of ritual used in everyday encounters between people" (1979: 137), have been little studied, despite the fact that all speech communities seem to utilize them in everyday interactions, though to varying extents.

It is indeed true that formulaic expressions and routines have not received much attention from linguists, possibly because of the focus of generative linguistics on the creative aspects of language. The second language aquisition literature, on the other hand, gives attention to prefabricated patterns as good strategies to memorize in order to communicate in certain situations (Hakuta, 1974). Hatch (1981) regards them as important devices for triggering the provision of input.

The fact that routine expressions are regarded as clichéd or common speech possibly plays a role in their not receiving the attention they deserve. Basil Bernstein's (1971) inclusion of them in the so-called 'restricted code,' hence associating them with stigmatized speech patterns of the lower classes, is another indication of negative attitudes toward formulaic expressions. The reality is that everyone in a community uses certain formulaic expressions by virtue of the fact that they are part of everyday rituals which "regulate public order" (Goffman, 1971).

Definitions

So far, I have not been using a systematic label to refer to pre-coded, conventionalized routines which can be found in almost every society's linguistic repertoire. I would like to start with their definitions and functions as given in the literature and then look at their usage by speakers of Turkish.

Formulaic expressions or routines are generally defined as conventionalized, pre-coded expressions whose occurence is triggered by standardized communication situations. They are part of every competent speaker's repertoire and show "tacit agreements which the members of a community presume to be shared by every reasonable co-member. In embodying societal knowledge they are essential in the handling of day-to-day situations" (Coulmas, 1981b: 4). Linguistic routines are social phenomena whose meaning and function need to be analyzed in their socio-cultural context. Proverbs and other ready-made patterns such as idiomatic expressions, greetings, apologies, leave-taking and the like are generally made up of routinized linguistic formulae whose use is more or less automatically triggered by situational circumstances.

Frequency and distribution of prefabricated routines are determined mainly by the social organization of the speech community, and the structural make-up of its language. Some carry special roles in the language, fulfilling many functions. Proverbs especially have a great role in African languages. Nwoye (1989) explains how linguistic politeness and impoliteness are expressed mainly by indirectness through the use of proverbs in the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria. Igbo proverbs serve the purpose of hedges in English. Knowledge and wise use of proverbs is highly regarded in society. Generally speaking, the more tradition-oriented societies display higher frequencies in their use of formulae which enjoy currency and respect in the community. In talking about Japanese apologies and thanking behavior, Coulmas (1981b) says that formulaic utterances are not considered as lacking in any real context since more important than originality is the ability to say the right thing in the right place. This also applies to greeting formulae by the Wolof (Irvine, 1974). Yet, even in non-traditional societies where individual creativity is valued, such as the United States, there are many expressions which are routinized, for example, greetings, leave-taking, apologies. Others, such as complimenting behavior, also display a highly routinized occurrence, somewhat contrary to expectations. As Manes and Wolfson (1981) showed after a detailed analysis of compliments which revealed their almost total lack of originality, this speech act is characterized by the formulaic nature of its syntactic and semantic compositions. It is interesting that such a phenomenon is so common in American English, whose speakers value individuality and originality.

In her study of 130,000 words of spontaneous speech, concentrating on hesitation phenomena in Canadian English, Sorhus (1977) argues that 20% of the words were prepatterned phrases fulfilling the function of fillers and giving the speakers time to verbalize their ideas. Therefore, we need to apply caution in making generalizations about the use of formulaic expressions since there are many speech acts, some of them still unnamed, whose study might reveal ritualized language use.

If one can justifiably generalize a large and as diverse a population as the Turks of Turkey and Cyprus as a tradition-oriented nation, one can expect to observe many routines in their linguistic repertoire. Within the body of this paper I will be looking at formulaic expressions in Turkish - all the prepatterned routines that emerge from the data - and attempt to analyze their structure and function as used by the sample of native speakers.

The Turkish language is rich in the range of formulaic expressions which reveal themselves in the body of proverbs, idiomatic expressions, situational formulae and the like to decorate both the spoken and the written channels. In Turkish, proverbs are defined as pre-formulated sentences which are conventionalized and easy to remember and they are believed to have been passed on from our ancestors to become part of the culture's verbal repertoire. Sometimes they are prefaced by "As our ancestors say...," especially when serving didactic purposes. They are accepted to be the product of the thinking human being, created by the experiences of one which then gain public/social value. Turkish proverbs sometimes show regional diversity, hence revealing the emphasis, life-style, etc., of a region, while many are recognized by everyone.

Proverbs are defined as a genre collecting many thoughts and ideas into the body of one utterance, which is then used to further some social purpose. Seitel (1976: 25) defines proverbs as the "strategic social use of metaphor as the manifestation in traditional, artistic and relatively short form of metaphorical reasoning, used in an interactional context to serve certain purposes". Proverbs are indicators of moral values based on experiences and thoughts. Turkish scholars (Bahadinli, 1971; Oy, 1972) define their functions as the giving of implicit advice in a way that show solutions to problems, describe experiences and general truths, and express and reinforce the customs and traditions of the society.

In Turkish, proverbs put a great deal of emphasis on patriotism, bravery, wisdom, patience, hospitality, family, friendship and justice, hence combining in themselves the linguistic and cultural unity of the society. Proverbs also adapt themselves to the changing social life of a country and new ones emerge accordingly. Those proverbs stressing disappearing values are still used, especially by the elderly, often with a touch of nostalgia, to talk about the 'good old days.'

Formulaic routines also reveal themselves in the large body of idiomatic expressions used by the Turkish language. Following Bahadinli (1971) I would like to differentiate between proverbs - called *atasözü* in Turkish (what ancestors say) - and *deyim* (sayings). Turkish proverbs are generally prescriptive, showing invariable truths and they are made up of whole sentences. Sayings, are made up of two or more words carrying idiomatic meanings and are used to express ideas in a non-prescriptive and indirect way. Overlaps sometimes occur between these two categories.

There are many standardized communication situations in our everyday lives which trigger automatic responses. A set of routines emerging from the data described later (taped conversations) provide good examples for these 'situational formulae,' to borrow Zimmer's term. Some of these occur in adjacency pairs, calling for specific second moves. For example:

(1) *Allaha ismarladik* [I recommend you to God] - Said by a person leaving.

(2) *Güle güle* [laughing, laughing] - Said by the person staying behind.

Therefore, there are certain rules governing the use of these situational formulas.

Note that *güle güle* can occur in conjunction with other words; adapting itself to the situation and forming part of a politeness formula used to convey good wishes, hence trying to establish rapport. Examples are *Güle güle giy* [wear it laughingly] , used to refer to a new piece of clothing, *Güle güle oturun* [may you live here laughingly (happily)], used to a person who moved into a new place. Formulae such as these constitute a common speech act which has no label describing it. Verschueren (1981) calls these "forgotten formulae." Indeed, in Turkish one can see many routinized formulae such as those shown above which are used as part of politeness strategies, with no specific lexical label.

There are other formulae, usually one-word, which serve different functions depending on the context they occur in. Bayraktaroglu's (1979) analysis of *Estağfurullah* as a second item in an adjacency pair shows how context/topic specific this formula is. It can mean "I ask pardon of God," "Don't mention it," and "No trouble at all," besides being used as a repair strategy, reprimand, or a strategy for downgrading the speaker and upgrading the listener. Formulae such as this enable the speaker to respond in appropriate ways, sometimes even enabling them to avoid specific, straightforward answers in a socially acceptable way. For instance, *Insallah* can be used as an appropriate response to a suggestion or invitation without making a commitment. It can mean 'hopefully,' or 'if God permits,' hence shifting the decision or the ability to fulfil the other's wish from the self to the powers of God. This is a socially acceptable politeness strategy which functions to indicate to the listener that the speaker may not really be interested, without committing a "face threatening act" (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

There are a subset of formulae in Turkish that appeal to the goodwill of God by expressing an awareness of his power and by asking for his help. These explicitly use the word *Allah* [God], for example: *Allah yetiştirsin* [May God help raise him/her], refering to someone's child. This shows an expression of good wishes on the part of the speaker. The response to this can be *Amin* [Amen] or *Teşekkür ederim* [Thank you]. These are some of the examples from the large body of formulaic, prefabricated expressions in Turkish which serve to fulfill certain functions during the course of interactions.

According to Malinowski (1923), prefabricated routines serve the function of "phatic communion" as instruments establishing personal bonds based on our need to form friendly relationships. This is only one of their functions however. As Coulmas (1981b) argues, it may not even be true for some of them. Formulaic expressions are also used to reduce the complexity of the social situation by giving speakers linguistic tools to fit situations appropriately in cases where they do not have time to create original utterances. They are socially recognized ways of interacting in certain situations and due to their being part of native speakers' shared background they prevent communication breakdowns and misunderstanding. They can also signify group membership. They do not require negotiation by virtue of the fact that they are part of everyone's repertoire whether they use them frequently or not. They can serve as indirect polite formulae, and to borrow Goffman's (1971) phrase, they are good devices to "regulate behavior in public places," due to the fact that successful interaction depends on standardized ways of organizing interpersonal encounters which Goffman refers to as "interaction rituals." In short, by equipping speakers with valuable tools to carry out social interactions in an appropriate way to the culture, all forms of formulaic expressions are valuable as part of a native speaker's "communicative competence" (Hymes, 1968) guiding their participation in interactions.

In the remaining part of this paper I will be looking at spoken data from Turkish in an attempt to see the structure and function of routines as used by speakers.

The Study

Data collection procedure

The data were collected by tape-recording naturally occuring conversations in three different settings involving a range of people representing both sexes equally. My living abroad here in the U.S. with few Turkish speakers to interact with made it difficult to collect naturalistic data. Data collected here was supplemented by two tapes sent by my mother from my home country, the Turkish division of Cyprus. The settings were a house in West Philadelphia, my house in Cyprus and my mother's office. All conversations were informal ones among friends, collegues and family involving people who all knew one another quite well.

Subjects

Approximately equal numbers of males and females between 30-55 years old made up the subjects. The majority were middle class and some came from different geographical locations and backgrounds. They were all native speakers of Turkish. The tapes done in Philadelphia involved people from Turkey who speak with a different accent than the Turkish Cypriots. The dialects show differences in pronunciation and some vocabulary; nevertheless, they represent the same language.

The subjects were told that I needed some Turkish data for a study and they were aware of being tape-recorded. Awareness of oneself as an object of study obviously makes one conscious of one's speech behavior. It is difficult to tell to what extent this influenced the frequency of formulaic expressions in the data, if at all. Personally knowing all the subjects involved in the conversations makes it somewhat easier for me to assess their relative social status and relationships with one another. In general, I can say that the tapes involve informal coffee-hour conversations and family gatherings, hence providing natural data.

Another tape I listened to is from a movie showing life in a Turkish jail. This obviously does not represent natural, spontaneous conversation but still reveals the use of formulaic expressions in their appropriate contexts.

Results and Analysis

The analysis was done by identifying the formulaic expressions based on my communicative competence as a native speaker of Turkish. Their having a ritualized, pre-formulated form makes them easier to recognize since they show very little variation and are shared by all native speakers. Further analysis was done by categorizing the emerging expressions into groups according to their forms.

A range of formulaic expressions were found in the data, only two of them being proverbs whereas the vast majority were idiomatic expressions called 'pragmatic idioms' by Coulmas (1979). The latter were in the form of short, easy to remember phrases/sentences used to express ideas in a politer, more indirect or decorative way, sometimes exaggerating things to emphasize the strength of emotion felt at the time:

(1) *Dünya yerinden oynadi* [The world moved on its axes] - Used to refer to an event which had a great impact.

(2) *Akli hayali durdu* [His mind and imagination stopped] - Used to show great astonishment.

Other sayings were used to express ideas in an indirect, almost story-like manner:

(3) *A'nin ipiyle kuyuya inersen isin zordur* [If you go down the well using A's rope, you'll have a hard time] - meaning that A is an unreliable person.

(4) *Istedigini yag eder, istedigini bal* [He'll make some things into oil, others into honey] - used to refer to someone who is not fair, acting in favor of some things and not on others depending on his attitude towards the people or issues involved.

(5) *Birisini adam yerine koymak* [To put someone into a man's place] - to respect someone.

(6) *Gözü disarda* [His eye is outside] - meaning someone who is on the lookout for something or someone.

(3) - (6) are pragmatic idioms carrying negative connotations. They are used to make a point, expressing somewhat unfavorable judgements of the people referred to. On the basis of these one may argue that a function of certain idiomatic expressions is to criticize people without being too rude or crude but getting one's meaning across all the same. The above examples show formulaic expressions as part of the language of evaluation, conveying directly or indirectly the speakers' negative or positive attitudes.

Other patterns referred to speakers themselves:

(7) *Alnim acik* [My forehead is clear] - meaning that the speaker is free from sins and has nothing to hide.

This reveals the Turkish belief that one cannot keep things secret for long, and that having nothing bad to hide is a valued attribute in the culture.

The following formula shows the context dependent nature of certain pragmatic idioms:

(8) *Güzü tutmak* [The eye got a hold on him] - can mean: a) that the speaker formed trust in the person referred to, or b) that the speaker thinks that the referent had an evil eye which influenced events in a bad way.

The latter point revels the superstitious nature of the Turks.

A second set of formulaic expressions occured in the form of adjacency pairs, triggered by the occurence of certain situations and/or events, hence displaying their ritualistic nature. These are what Coulmas (1979) calls 'repetitive phrases,' a part of routine formulae. In Coulmas's definition these are:

> ...expressions whose ocurence is closely bound to specific social situations and which are, on the basis of an evaluation of such situations, highly predictable in a communicative course of events. Their meaning is pragmatically conditoned, and their usage is motivatied by the relevant characteristics of such social situations (1979: 240).

Note that these repetitive phrases do not carry idiomatic meanings, unlike the examples given so far.

Ferguson (1979) calls these 'politeness formulae'; fixed expressions conventionally used for purposes of greeting, leave-taking, thanking, etc. Some examples are:

(9) -*Tesekkür ederim, zahmet oldu* [Thank you, it was such trouble for you]
  -*Yok canim, ne zahmeti* [No, not the slightest bit]
    or -*Estagfurullah* [Don't mention it]
(10) -*Gecmis olsun* [May it be past]
  -*Sagoi* [Be alive] - a thanking formula
(11) -*Eline saglik* [Health to your hand] - to the person who did the cooking
  -*Afiyet olsun* [*Bon apetit*]

Tannen and Öztek (1981) classify (10) as a formula in their 'anxiety-provoking' category as part of those formulae referring to health such that it is used to people who are ill or just recovering. It also has a specific use in another context: expressing good wishes to people in jail. This can still be categorized as an anxiety-provoking event but is not related to health or loss of someone since (10) can also be used to people who have lost a relative, close friend, etc.

(11) draws attention to the fact that *bon apetit* can be used in Turkish both before and after a meal, whereas in French it is used only at the beginning as an invitation to start the meal. A specific formula does not exist in English for the especific situation. This can show what kind of pragmatic interference might occur when learners of a language transfer formlulas from their nartive language into the target language. Observations about the ways in which such formulae may differ across a variety of languages have been made by Davies (1987), Drazdauskiene (1981), Ferguson (1970), James (1980), Richards and Sukwiwat (1983), Riley (1981), and Tannen and Öztek (1981).

Other examples of adjacency pairs were:

(12) -*Hadi gözün aydin* [your eye is sparkling] - said to a person whose friend or relative has arrived, or after a happy event.

-*Aydinlikta ol* [You be in light too] - meaning, 'I hope this happens to you too.'

(13) -*Serefe* [To your honor] - Cheers.

-*Serefe* - This is an optional second move since one can respond by just raising one's glass.

In some cases one has a choice of appropriate second moves, depending on the situation and the topic of interaction, as well as the social identity of the interlocutors. For example,

(14) -*Tesekkür ederim* [Thank you]

- a) *Helal olsun* [It's lawful]

b) *Birsey degil* [It's nothing]

(14)-a is more likely to be used by an older person than a younger one and it has somewhat religious overtones, whereas (14)-b is neutral. The person who replies, therefore, can reveal his age and religious orientation. This can also be shown in the way people thank others:

(15) -*Nasilsiniz?* [How are you?]

-a) *Sagol iyiyim* [I'm fine, you be alive]

b) *Allaha sükür iyiyim* [Thanks to God, I am fine]

The first response thanks the person asking whereas the second one thanks God for being fine. This phenomenon is also common in Yiddish, as shown by Matisoff (1979) who calls them 'psycho-ostensives' as formulae showing the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards what they are talking about.

In fact there were some routines involving the word 'God' and appealing to the good will of God by expressing his power or by asking for his aid:

(16) *Allah yetistirsin* [May God raise him/her] - referring to one's own or other's children.

(17) *Allah iyilik saglik versin* [May God give peace and health]

(18) *Allah korusun* [May God protect/ God Forbid]

(19) *Allah kurtarsin* [May God save]

(16) - (19) are not required in speech, though those occuring in adjacency pairs are. Since the situational formulae are expected as part of the societal norms, what happens in cases when the hearer fails to respond, or when they are not used at all? Does a communication breadown occur?

Ferguson (1979) gives an anecdote about how not replying verbally to the 'good morning' from his secretary caused tension in the work place and made people give him strange looks, almost as if asking what was wrong. "The importance of our trivial, muttered more-or-less automatic polite phrases becomes clear when they are omitted or not acknowledged" (140-141). Misuse or failure to use certain formulaic expressions would not in most cases cause communication breakdowns but would be perceived as lack of politeness.

The above situational formulae are quite obligatory. For example, responding to a good wish with gratitude or using a greeting formula (*Hosgeldin* - *Hosbulduk*) but failing to say 'bless you' when somebody sneezes is not obligatory, at least for the native speaker norms and expectations I have.

It is difficult to classify most of these ritualized formulaic expressions as absolutely required or not since the social identity of the interlocutors and the situation form the major determining factors. Some formulae such as 'bless you' after a sneeze or *hayirdir insallah* before recounting a dream may be deemed required by one, while not expected at all by another. It seems to me that more tradition-oriented older people know and use more formulaic expressions. Indeed, when, why and by whom certain formulaic expressions are expected can be an interesting study, saying something about the social structure of a community.

Certain formulae were used to ask for forgiveness or to be believed, some approximating begging:

(20) *Kurban olayim* [I'll sacrifice myself] - used as a very strong form of asking for something.

(21) *Vallahi* [I swear I am telling the truth]

(22) *Allah askina* [For God's sake] - again, used to ask for something.

A number of routines were used to refer to general truths or to concepts accepted by the society, in order to make a point in a simple, shared way:

(23) *Yas 35 yolun yarisi* [Age 35, it's half way] - meaning when you reach 35 you're half way through with your life. This used to express the speaker's belief that the person referred to (which can be oneself) is getting old. This was originally a line from a famous poem which then acquired public value and use.

(24) *Neysek oyuz* [We are what we are]

(25) *Iyilik, saglik olsun* [As long as we have health and peace] - meaning that these are the most important things in life.

(26) *Ruhun genc olsun* [As long as your soul is young] - This is used to indicate the general belief that it's not your age but the way you feel that makes the difference.

By expressing the generally accepted ideas in society, these formulas call for agreement with the point made by the speaker.

A big part of the data consisted of routines used as politeness devices, used to establish rapport and to say the socially expected and appropriate thing. For example:

(28) *Mübarek ellerinden öperim* [I kiss his holy hands] - This phrase carries religious overtones because of the word *mübarek* [holy]. It refers to a Turkish coustom of kissing the hand of one's seniors and touching it to one's forehead.

(29) *Basüstüne* [On the head] - meaning your wish is my command.

(30) *Buyrun beyim* [Please condescend yourself, sir] - used when offering someone something or just asking him to come in.

(31) *Zahmet etmeyin* [Please don't go to the trouble] - said when one is being offered something, not meant literally in most cases.

Other formulae were used for the purpose of giving advice or repremanding someone:

(32) *Gözmüzü acik tutalim* [We need to keep our eyes open] - meaning that we need to be cautious. This was used to warn the whole group, including the self.

(33) *Takma kafani* [Don't bother your head about it] - or sometimes meaning to repremand someone.

(34) *Agiz yapma* [Don't make mouth] - telling someone not to divert attention to other things by being verbose.

Conclusion

As previously mentioned, literal translations of these formulaic, prefabricated expressions into other languages can cause communication problems, such that, their equivalents might not exist, are not required or they are simply conveyed via other devices in different languages, especially those which are "part of a society's protocol," to borrow Davies' phrase. Indeed, misuse of these conventions of politeness is part of the 'cross-cultural pragmatic failure' (Thomas, 1983) that many learners face. In a contrastive analysis of politeness formulae, Davies (1987) shows how these show partial, complete structural or pragmatic differences.

In some situations the relationship is not bidirectional. For instance, 'goodbye' in English can be used by both the person(s) leaving and the ones staying behind. In Turkish, however, there are two formulae serving this function of leave-taking. *Allahaismaladik* [I recommend you to God] is used by the person leaving and is uttered first, whereas the one staying behind says *Güle güle* [laughingly]. Tannen and Öztek's

(1981) comparison of Turkish and Greek formulae also point out the cross-cultural differences.

What can one conclude about the functions of formulaic expressions in a language? The data presented above show them to act as politeness devices, stiuational formulae, eloquent ways of making a point in a socially acceptable and recognized way, giving the speaker devices to be tactful and the like. They help the conversation progress smoothly through the use of devices which are part of the interlocutors' communicative competence, hence not needing negotiations. They establish rapport and their use prevents the occurence of face threatening acts. The study of prefabricated routinized expressions can reveal not only a substantial part of the communicative competence of the native speakers, but can also show the values and beliefs of a society, drawing attention to conventionalized situations.

Within the body of this paper I have tried to account for the structure and functions of formulaic expressions emerging from the data. Although it was difficult to collect naturalistic data on Turkish away from the home country, the data was sufficient to show the high occurence of various formulaic expressions in Turkish. The results, nonetheless, should be evaluated only in their socio-cultural context. Language behavior is a context-dependent phenomenon, displaying changes according to social factors such as the social identity of the interlocutors, the setting, topic and the cultural norms. Although it is my strong belief that all Turkish speakers make use of formulaic expressions which are integral parts of ritualized everyday communication (to differing degrees depending on the interlocutors' social identites), I cannot justifiably generalize the sample to represent the wider population without further research.

The sample consisted mostly of lower-to-upper-middle class people between 30-55 years of age. They knew one another and shared a number of communication networks. It is interesting to note that the majority of expressions appealing to God's power were given by a woman who worked as a cleaning lady in a government office. Can it be that members of the working class use more formulaic, pre-coded utterances, as Bernstein (1972) would argue, or do they feel more powerless as people, or is this just an individual trait?

Moreover, those exaggerated formulae (see (1) and (2)) were used exclusively by women, who generally seemed to have a higher frequency of formulae in their speech, though situational formulae were used by everyone. Are there gender differences governing the use of certain formulae?

In short, despite the difficulties involved, the analysis of data posed questions for further research. In the future I hope to pursue this study, collecting spontaneous data from different groups and doing more systematic analysis to discover factors governing the use of formulaic expressions in Turkish which mirror the values, beliefs and communicative competence of a society.

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[1] This paper was written for a course on language and power taught by Dr. Nessa Wolfson in the fall of 1989.

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Misunderstood efforts
and missed opportunities:
An examination of EFL in Japan

Yoshiko Okushi

This paper affirms the importance of sociolinguistic rules of speaking by examining how these rules affect Japanese language learners as they attempt to build communicative competence in English. By examining the English language curriculum in Japan and by citing the subsequent difficulties that Japanese encounter when they enter an English-speaking community, this paper argues for the systematic instruction of sociolinguistic rules of speaking.

Not having been taught sociolinguistic rules of speaking English, Japanese learners face two problems when they communicate with native speakers. First, the Japanese learners sometimes misinterpret what the native English speaker is saying; second, they also find themselves misunderstood by these same native speakers. As a result of this two-way misunderstanding, the learners often miss opportunities to interact with native speakers.

Teaching material and syllabi designed to improve communicative competence in English are popular among Japanese language teachers. Awareness of the need to teach communicative skills is well documented by the number of articles written on this subject appearing in the JACET Bulletin, one of the major journals for university English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers in Japan.

Taking this awareness into consideration, the question that arises is whether sociolinguistic rules are actually taught as a part of EFL in Japan. If so, this in turn raises the following questions: 1) Where is it taught? 2) What textbooks are used? and 3) Are EFL teachers trained in sociolinguistics? Regarding the first question, there are three types of institutions to study: private language institutes, universities, and public schools.

Among these three English language institutions, the most progressive are the private language institutes. At these private language schools, native English speakers comprise most of the teaching staff and a few of the instructors have an M.A. in EFL with some training in sociolinguistics. The students enrolled in this kind of private language institute are highly motivated and have a great need to learn English. The primary objective of these schools is to prepare students to use the language for business or educational purposes in English-speaking countries. Although the high quality of private institutes is generally acknowledged in Japan, only a small percentage of Japanese students and employees who come to English-speaking countries have actually had instruction in such institutions. Receiving, instead, instruction at universities and other schools, most people are not equipped with even the slightest amount of systematic instruction in sociolinguistics. Compared with the private language institutes, universities and public schools lag behind in teaching their students the sociolinguistic rules of speaking.

In examining the second question regarding the materials used to teach EFL, I focused on several Japanese-English textbooks for junior high school students. Looking over the teaching materials, I found that: 1) materials are prepared in grammar-oriented sequences and 2) the dialogues are often artificial; that is, rules of speaking are not overtly considered. Even worse, there are some parts of the textbooks which actually violate the rules of speaking for any group of native English speakers. For example, the following is a dialogue in one lesson of a first-year English textbook:

> Boy: Hello.
> Lady: Oh, hello. But why do you look at me so hard? Why don't you go and play with other children?
> Boy: I don't want to go away.
> Lady: Why? Are you ill?
> Boy: No, I am not. Is your dress new?
> Lady: Yes. Do you like it?
> Boy: I don't know, but it's beautiful.
> Lady: Thank you. Come here. Sit down with me.
> Boy: No.
> Lady: Why?
> Boy: Don't you see the sign here? It says, "Wet Paint."
>
> (Yokokawa et al., 1985)

This is an extremely artificial dialogue, as frequent topic change makes this interaction contrived and incoherent. That there is an underlying humorous intent is difficult to ascertain since the outcome is rude in the extreme. It is almost impossible to imagine what the textbook writer's motivation could have been in creating this dialogue. Certainly, communicative competence was neither the purpose nor the outcome.

Textbooks used to teach English language classes at the university level prove just as ineffective in building communicative competence as those used in junior and senior high schools. In university classrooms, one finds that the focus of instruction is linguistic proficiency; once again, social rules and the context in which the language will be used are ignored. These Japanese-English textbooks do not include information regarding sociolinguistics. Consequently, students complete their language studies without gaining an understanding of how to interact effectively in an English-speaking society. Although it is unlikely that the majority of such students will have much interaction with native speakers, this does not mean that there is no need for students to learn how native speakers interact. Even if they do no more than read literature and watch films, students having no background in sociolinguistic rules of speaking will find it difficult or impossible to understand the interactions among the characters; therefore, they may easily misinterpret the meaning of what they read or hear.

It is only when one examines the materials used in private English language institutes that one finds an attempt to offer instruction in what we have come to call communicative competence. The textbooks used at these institutes are the same used to teach non-native speakers in the United States. However, although building communicative competence is a recognized goal of these teaching materials, even here the authenticity and utility of the subject matter remains highly questionable.

To ascertain whether or not Japanese EFL teachers are trained in sociolinguistics, I interviewed professors of two national universities in Japan. These interviews confirmed my prior understanding that the framework of formal curricula for obtaining a teacher's license is determined by the government. Therefore, EFL teacher training courses in all Japanese universities are standardized. Within this framework, however, universities offer a variety of courses. Both of the professors interviewed affirmed their awareness of the importance of sociolinguistics in language teaching, despite the fact that the systematic teaching of this field had not been implemented in either university. Most of the courses offered focus on reading and do not emphasize language use for communication. Language teaching in Japan is still based on traditional academism; that is, foreign language learning is mainly intended for reading literature. Traditionally, teachers were not concerned with day-to-day interaction with native speakers; instead, they were interested in the language of the printed page. Thus, despite the fact that many Japanese EFL teachers and professors are aware that an increasing number of Japanese have a need to interact with native English speakers in their daily lives, this awareness is not reflected in the EFL training courses. Some instructors recognize the importance of sociolinguistic rules which dictate the effectiveness of verbal interaction and they support change in the EFL curriculum. Progress is checked, however, by the scant number of people trained in sociolinguistics, as well as by the prevailing resistance to change in the traditional academic community.

An important point to consider is that the economic position of Japan has changed, making it a country which plays an important role in the world. Not only are an increasing number of Japanese learning English, but also more English speakers are learning Japanese. As time goes on, these people are going to use language in sensitive situations such as diplomatic and business negotiations, in which ignorance of sociolinguistic rules can pose a serious problem. Therefore, research into Japanese speech behavior is needed, as well as further development of materials to teach empirically sound sociolinguistic patterns used by native speakers of English. Although sociolinguistics is not a new field of study in Japan, most Japanese sociolinguistic research has mainly dealt with dialectology and the study of honorifics. For example, O'Neill (1966) shows how the variety of language in Japan manifests status and sex differences. This kind of study is useful for learners of Japanese, but it only provides the information observable within the linguistic form and does not give information about the social distribution of these patterns. The most likely reason for this omission is that no empirical research has yet been carried out which would provide the needed facts. Indeed, it is apparent that work such as O'Neill's is based on nothing more than native speaker intuitions. Actual fieldwork on speech behavior needs to be conducted in order to discover how Japanese people interact using respectful language. As Wolfson (1983) writes, "we do not speak as we think we do, and for this reason, sociolinguistic explanations based on native intuition are inadequate." Due to the absence of needed research findings, Japanese rules of speaking are not systematically taught to students of Japanese as a foreign language.

Without knowledge of rules of speaking, misunderstandings are bound to occur. Even if the linguistic form is understood, this does not necessarily mean that the learner has correctly interpreted what was said. A frequently cited example of this misunderstanding is the interaction between President Richard Nixon and the late

Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato at the 1970 Summit Meeting. In response to Nixon's political pressure to limit textile exports, Sato said, "I'll do my best." The original Japanese expression is often used when one can not easily answer another's request in a political situation. Christopher (1983) writes, "But to Nixon, however, it sounded as though Sato had promised to remedy the situation. And so when Sato failed to take effective action, Nixon bitterly concluded that he had been double-crossed." Obviously, Sato's translator had failed to render the true meaning of what the Prime Minister had said. Problems of this sort arise because language learners usually have not been taught that there is sociolinguistic variability across languages; even translators are rarely given instruction in the sociolinguistic rules of the target language. The misunderstanding in the above situation arose because Sato's words were translated rather than the meaning that lay behind those words.

Not every misunderstanding has such profound political effects. Still, what problems do the Japanese in an English-speaking country such as the U.S. frequently encounter? One of the problems which arises is that English learners are prevented from developing good relationships with native speakers. During exchanges between a Japanese and a native English speaker, oftentimes the Japanese person's responses are regarded as rude or overly formal. A good example is shown in Daikuhara's (1986) study of compliments and responses in American English and in Japanese. The most frequent Japanese response to a compliment is denial, such as:

A: You are good at English.
B: No, no. That's not true.

As Daikuhara explains, use of "No, no" does not necessarily mean disagreement with the speaker. Japanese people usually deny a given compliment, especially one which praises performance or skills. In contrast, speakers of American English simply respond with "thank you." This kind of simple acceptance of compliments would be considered self-praise in Japanese. Therefore, Japanese speakers transfer the speech rule of "self-praise avoidance" when they speak English. As Daikuhara says, "among Americans, such disagreement is usually restricted to interaction between intimates." In addition, Americans typically use compliments as conversational openers while the Japanese do not. As shown by the previous example, Japanese speakers of English transfer their rules of speaking from Japanese to English and subsequently respond to Americans' compliments with denial. The result of such an action might be that the Japanese person misses opportunities which would lead to further conversations with native speakers.

Another comparative study on the issue of rules of speaking was conducted by Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1985) on refusals. In this study, the researchers collected data from three groups of subjects: native speakers of Japanese speaking in Japanese (JJs), native speakers of American English speaking in English (AEs), and native speakers of Japanese speaking in English (JEs). Beebe et al. found that when refusing a request, all three groups basically used the same range of semantic formulas, such as expressing regret and giving excuses. They differed, however, in the order of these formulas. It was found that four aspects in which JEs resembled JJs and differed from AEs were:

> (1) with status unequals, JJs and JEs gave an excuse second, while AEs gave it third;
>
> (2) when they were of lower status than the requestor, JEs and JJs made their apology/expression of regret first, AEs made it second;
>
> (3) JJs and JEs omitted apology/regret when they were of higher status than the requestor, whereas AEs said "I'm sorry" to lower status requestors, and
>
> (4) JJs and JEs expressed either empathy, such as "I realize you are in a difficult situation," or positive opinion when they were higher status than the requestor and AEs did not.

From this study, one finds that JEs transfer their speech behavior from Japanese and change the semantic formula and its order according to the interlocutor's status. As a result, JEs' refusals were different from those of AEs'.

In addition to the obvious pitfalls of sociolinguistic transfer, Japanese speakers of English are often put in the uncomfortable position of not being able to present themselves as they wish. Even when they are aware that polite forms are required in a given context, the full range of such forms is not part of their communicative competence. Ironically, while writing this paper, a striking thing occurred which relates to this problem. It happened that I was at the home of one of my professors when the telephone rang. She asked me to answer it and I did so. The caller was my professor's husband who asked to speak with her. As she was unable to come to the phone, the following interaction occurred:

> Professor: Ask him what he wants.
> Yoshiko: What do you want?
> Husband: I wanted to be sure you got there all right.

Clearly, I knew that there was a more polite way of asking Mr. X what he wanted, but in my desperation to respond quickly and accurately, my communicative competence was inadequate to supply it. I was annoyed with what I knew was my inappropriately direct speech. When my professor and I discussed what could have been said in place of "What do you want?" in this context, it was suggested that "She can't come to the phone. Can I help you?" would have been more appropriate. Since I associated the expression "Can I help you?" with the context for a service encounter, it would not have occurred to me to use it on the telephone. Despite my six years of residence in the United States and my relative fluency in English, it is obvious from this example that a working knowledge of sociolinguistic rules is difficult to acquire on one's own. The above-related incident was illustrative to me and, I hope, to readers as well, that overt description of sociolinguistically appropriate forms is a necessary component of language teaching.

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Discourse marking and elaboration and the comprehensibility of second language speakers[1]

Jessica Williams
University of Illinois-Chicago

An examination of the planned and unplanned speech of non-native-speaking teaching assistants suggests that the greatest variation between the two conditions lies in the use and elaboration of discourse marking. In the non-native speakers' planned production, discourse moves are more likely to be marked more overtly and elaborately than in the unplanned production, while the level of syntactic and morphological errors differ only slightly. These differences in marking appear to contribute significantly to comprehensibility ratings of the production of non-native speakers, but not that of native speakers. These results suggest native speaker production may not always be the appropriate target and that the elaboration of discourse, rather than morphosyntactic accuracy, may be a more effective focus of instruction for these speakers.

As an increasing number of universities come to depend on non-native-speaking graduate students to teach introductory undergraduate courses, more and more TESOL professionals are asked to develop programs which will improve their teaching effectiveness. In order to develop successful programs, it is first necessary to establish what it is about international teaching assistant (ITA) discourse, beyond obvious problems in pronunciation, which often renders it incomprehensible to the undergraduates towards whom it is directed. The present study will focus on the contributions which discourse marking and elaboration make to comprehensibility.

In an effort to address this issue, production data of ITAs in planned and unplanned explanations will be compared. The issue of planning is an important one in considering such data. Ellis (1987, 1989) and Tarone (1988) have proposed that planning time is important in distinguishing between kinds of production. One way in which these kinds of speech can be differentiated is along the dimension of automaticity. Tarone (1988) and McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod (1983) have claimed that forms may enter a speaker's interlanguage as non-automatic knowledge, but may become automatized through practice. The present data show instances of planned, potentially non-automatic speech on the one hand, and on the other hand, unplanned production in which a number of forms, specifically discourse markers, have not yet become automatic.

We are most likely to find evidence of automatized forms in planned speech and of non-automatized forms in unplanned production. Many of the forms and constructions on which this study focuses were explicitly taught in an effort to improve the comprehensibility of ITAs in the classroom. It is likely, therefore, that these forms have entered the ITAs' repertoires as non-automatic items. Indeed, it has frequently been noted that forms which students control in formal exercises are often not used in spontaneous production. It is not surprising then that they are more prevalent in the planned production. Their presence in the unplanned explanations may be evidence of increasing automatization. It should be noted, however, that some forms and modes of presentation have been shown to be characteristic of unplanned production in general, even in that of native speakers (NSs) (Danielewicz, 1984; Ochs, 1979). For this reason, NS baseline data are included.

Planned versus unplanned production

It is perhaps belaboring the obvious to assert that planning has a significant effect on oral production. A number of studies attest to this, in the production of both NSs (Danielewicz, 1984; Givon, 1979; Ochs, 1979) and non-native speakers (NNSs) (Crookes, 1988; Ellis, 1987; Tomlin, 1984). Space does not allow a review of that literature here. An excellent review of research on the effect of planning on both NS and NNS production appears in Crookes (1988).

Much of the work in this area of second language acquisition research involves the construct *attention to speech*, the central idea being that unplanned production requires less attention than planned production. The validity of this construct has been debated in both sociolinguistics and second language acquisition research (Bell, 1984; Preston, 1989; Rampton, 1987; Sato, 1985; Wolfson, 1976). One of the greatest difficulties in using attention to speech as a variable is ascertaining what sorts of tasks demand the most attention. Furthermore, one may ask whether increased planning opportunity necessarily leads to greater attention to form. Tarone (1982, 1985) examined morphological and grammatical features of second language learner (SLL) discourse, mixing medium, genre, and planning opportunity. Her results could not be explained without recourse to variables other than attention to speech, such as the roles of forms like articles and pronouns in maintaining cohesive discourse. Sato (1985:195) questions the unitary nature of the notion *attention* in her study of interlanguage phonology. She points out that certain tasks "require a great deal of attention, but this attention must be paid, not simply to language form but also to other demands of real-time discourse production: recall and encoding of rhetorical structure, lexical items, clause sequencing, etc." In other words, increased attention need not necessarily lead to increased accuracy in the use of grammatical forms.

Ellis (1987) maintains that attention to form and time are separable, citing the work of Hulstijn and Hulstijn (1984), who found that time pressure alone had no effect on accuracy in the use of two Dutch word order rules, whereas focus on form increased significantly. Ellis (1989) also suggests that tasks must be differentiated by text type as well as by amount of planning time. He examined the effect of planning time on accuracy in grammatical morphology. Not surprisingly, in tasks in which speakers were given more time to plan, morphological accuracy was generally the highest. Tasks with greater time pressure showed more variation.

Research in pyscholinguistics and cognitive science suggest that there are different kinds of planning. Within the field of second language production, the work of Faerch and Kasper (1983) and Lennon (1984), among others, suggests that there exists long-range "macro-planning" on the one hand, and more local "micro-planning" on the other. The first affects overall semantic and syntactic organization of discourse; it is more subject to advance planning. The second affects local organization and links between propositions as well as lexical selection, and tends to be mapped out as the speaker goes along.

Many of the earlier studies of planned and unplanned discourse were primarily descriptive. More recent studies give us a more detailed look at the differences between planned and unplanned SLL production. Crookes (1989) found that in the planned condition, NNSs produced more complex speech and a greater variety of lexis than in the unplanned condition, but that accuracy in the two conditions was not significantly different. We need to now ask why these differences should be characteristic of different kinds of discourse, especially as they relate to second language production. In the speech of SLLs, such variation may, in fact, be due to differences in control. In two major approaches to second language acquisition, control is invoked as a major explanatory factor (see Hulstijn, 1990). McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod (1983) and McLeod and McLauglin (1986) view second language acquisition as similar to the development of other skills, involving a shift from controlled to automatic processes. These two kinds of processes represent very different ways of accessing and producing language. The shift from controlled to automatic involves a restructuring of the task. As regards the tasks here, it may be that forms which are new cannot be accurately or appropriately produced when there is little time to plan. This is the explanation given by McLaughlin (1987) for the findings of Tarone (1985), where time pressure led to a decrease in accuracy. According to him, this restructuring process may also be at the root of apparently unsystematic variation which is characteristic of SLLs' production.

Other conceptions of control exclude its role in the actual restructuring of knowledge. According to Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith (1985), control and competence must be kept separate from one another. Specifically, a distinction is made between how language is represented in the learner's mind and the ability to control that knowledge as part of real-time processing. Again, the question of planning time may be crucial. NNSs may have acquired the knowledge of a given form and even of how and when it should be used but, especially when there is little time to plan, a speaker may be unable to exercise control over that knowledge. This is particularly important to remember in this study where not only do the learners know that they are supposed to employ discourse markers, but they also report that the marking devices in their L1s are very similar. An important difference between these two approaches then is that within the information-processing framework advanced by McLaughlin, the development process is essentially a unitary one. As new knowledge is acquired, it is, at least initially, subject to controlled processes. Later, given practice, it may become automatic. Within the competence-control framework, on the other hand, competence and control may develop quite separately. Planning time would presumably affect the control portion rather than knowledge itself.

These two views of control both suggest, however, that increased control and automaticity come with time and practice. By examining production in the planned and unplanned condition, we may be able to shed some light as to where these learners are in this process. It seems probable that the focus of recent instruction may not yet be subject to automatic processing, thus only likely to appear in the planned condition. No claims are made here as to the point at which these forms are effectively "acquired," only that there is potentially an important interaction between the effect of instruction, operationalized as exposure and practice, and planning opportunity. Having established that there are important differences between these two types of production, we may then go on to look at the effect of these differences on comprehensibility.

Comprehensibility of ITA discourse

The "ITA problem" is by now well-known to TESOL professionals and to undergraduates alike. There have been several notable attempts to determine why at least some ITAs are so difficult to understand. Rounds (1987) notes in particular that in comparison to NS TAs, ITAs frequently fail to adequately elaborate the key points of their presentations. They often do not name important steps, mark junctures explicitly, or make cohesive links between ideas. Williams and Barnes (1987) came to similar conclusions, finding that ITAs often: fail to repeat or rephrase important points; digress from the main line of thought and move on to new topics without marking; do not overtly frame discourse items such as illustrations, examples, axioms; and fail to summarize material. It should not be surprising that listeners have trouble comprehending when all of these aspects of discourse go unmarked. Tyler (1988) maintains that unsuccessful ITAs consistently fail to orient their listeners adequately to the relative importance of ideas, as well as how they are linked to one another. According to Tyler, they misuse various cues on which NS listeners depend to interpret discourse. These include lexical, syntactic, and prosodic miscues. Taken together, these can seriously reduce comprehensibility. Tyler (1989) tested this notion, using undergraduate judges and found that the increased and accurate use of discourse markers greatly increased comprehensibility scores.

Research in the effectiveness of NS explanations is reported by Brown (1978:11). In a review of the relevant literature, he reports that "Good explanations usually involved task-orientation statements, such as 'Now, let's look closely at ....', " and further that, "Successful explanations contained signposts such as 'There are three main areas. First....' They also contain statements linking various elements of the explanation, such as, "So far, we have looked at .... Now."

This kind of marking has been shown to be an important factor in SLL listening comprehension. Chaudron and Richards (1986) found the use of what they call macro-markers to be the most facilitative. Such markers are important indicators of speaker planning and are also the ones which were missing or misused in the ITA discourse in the studies named above. Chaudron and Richards state that "macro-markers are explicit expressions of the planning of lecture information" (123f), corresponding to the marco-planning described by Faerch and Kasper (1983). Chaudron and Richards found that micro-markers, the forms which mark temporal and logical relationships between propositions and segment the discourse into chunks, did not have a significant effect on comprehension by SLLs. However, since the listeners in the case of the present study are NS undergraduates, the results of the Chaudron and Richards research, which used SLL subjects, can only be generalized with caution.

The Study

The data in this study were collected over a two-year period from 24 first language Mandarin and Korean speakers who were teaching assistants in various departments at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Each of the TAs was videotaped on two separate occasions, two weeks apart as part of a ten-week ITA preparation course. On the first occasion, the students were permitted to choose their own topic. They were asked to explain a concept or specific problem which would be covered during a first-year introductory course in their field. They were given a week to prepare their presentations. They were allowed to bring note cards, but reading was not permitted. In the second instance, the TAs submitted a list of ten topics, similar to the first. The instructor chose from among them, giving each TA approximately three minutes to plan the presentation. In this way, practice effect was avoided, but the presentation remained relatively unplanned. In each case, they were given seven to eight minutes to speak.

Also included in this study were five native-speaking teaching assistants (NSTAs). This cannot be called a control group however since their tasks were somewhat different. The NS data consist of segments taken from actual classes. This corpus also included instances of relatively planned and unplanned speech, but NS tasks cannot be viewed as comparable to the NNS tasks. The unplanned speech for the NSs occurred when a student, by prearrangement, asked an unexpected question or asked the TA to go over problems not assigned specifically for that day. However, these segments were not as long as the unplanned presentations of the NNSs. The data are included here primarily to verify whether the features found in the NNS corpus are, in fact, characteristic of such speakers or if they are common to both speaker groups, suggesting that they are simply typical of production in either the planned or unplanned condition. This is important since we may frequently attribute behavior to NNSs which is in fact also apparent in the spontaneous production of NSs. Tyler (1989), for instance, in her study of NNS comprehensibility, compared undergraduate intelligibility evaluations of a transcript of the actual production of NNSs with a transcript which contained the same information, but had been altered by inserting and changing various macro- and micro-cues. Thus, although these results do provide insight into the effect of the use of these cues, they do not shed any light on how the performance of these NNSs might have compared to that of NSs.

The analysis of the discourse was carried out in several ways. First, the videotapes of both the NSs and NNSs were played to undergraduates and ESL specialists. The tapes were played to these two groups in batches of eight to avoid fatiguing the raters. Speakers were presented in random order. In order to get a general impression of their level of comprehension, the raters were asked to answer two questions for each presentation: first, they were asked to name the topic and second, to name the main idea. More detailed questions were not asked since much of the material was difficult for the undergraduates as well as the ESL experts to understand in detail. The evaluation scores alone have high face validity in that what undergraduates perceive at this level, may, in turn, determine whether they simply tune out in the first place. The comprehension scores were added simply to corroborate these results. The comprehension scores, with a few exceptions, demonstrate that the judges were at least able to understand the main idea of the presentations, and in both conditions.

The use of Chaudron and Richards' discourse cues, specifically macro-cues, was the focus of this investigation, in particular, the level of explicitness in their explanations. This is not to suggest that pronunciation and prosody were not a problem; they very clearly were. However, interviews with the undergraduate raters in this study revealed that ITA pronunciation is often an initial problem, but may not be as significant in the long term. Many of the undergraduates who had had an ITA over an entire term maintained that although the ITA's accent was an obstacle in the beginning, they eventually adjusted to it, making the appropriate substitutions and even filling in some of the syntactic gaps. This seemed to suggest that there may be more important aspects of the comprehensibility problem, aspects which, furthermore, may be more amenable to instruction than pronunciation.

Instruction in the use of discourse markers and effective packaging of information was a major focus in the ITA preparation course. In effect, since most of the ITAs perceived this task as a test situation, they were aware that a "good" performance would include the accurate and explicit use of these markers. This usage had been practiced previously in more abbreviated exercises and activities in class by all the ITAs in this study. NS participants in the study received no instruction.

Method of Analysis

A number of discourse features were examined. It was predicted that ITA discourse would contain more unmarked key statements than that of the NS TAs. Similarly, it was predicted that this feature would be more characteristic of the structure of the argument or explanation (Brown 1978). There are various types of key statements contained in these explanations. In each case, it was hypothesized first, that the NSTA discourse would contain more overt marking as to the function of these key statements than that of ITAs and second, that planned ITA explanations would be richer in marking than unplanned. Richer is taken to mean a greater absolute number of markings as well as greater elaboration of them. No great difference between the NSTA unplanned and planned speech was predicted, since the earlier hypotheses were based on the idea that the ITAs had not yet automatized the use of these markers. The corollary to this argument is that the NSTAs had done so, and in both conditions. Otherwise this would simply be a case of planned versus unplanned speech of the two speakers' groups with their characteristic formats, without any role for automatization, or learning. Support for these hypotheses can be found in the work of Crookes (1989) for L2 and Danielewicz (1984) for L1. Crookes, in investigating the organization of discourse under the two conditions found that there was greater use of discourse markers in one of his experimental tasks.

One way a key statement may be marked is by indicating speaker intention, as in example (1):

> 1. *Today I want to spend a few minute* to explain what
> trigonometric function are.

Another form of marking is the identification of the actual function of the statement within the explanation, as in example (2):

> 2. The second element of physiology is study about transport system.
> *For example*, our heart will transport blood to all the part of our body.

Some statements may be marked for both speaker intention and function in the explanation, as in example (3):

3. *Now I'd like to give you* the definition of molecule.

In contrast, some statements may go unmarked, as in examples (4) and (5):

4. This cotangent involving adjacent and opposite.
5. This the change of the chromosome in cell division.

In fact, example (4) was meant to be a definition, or at least instructions for using the trigonometric function. Example (5) was meant as a summary of the previous material. In all likelihood, however, and this was borne out by the undergraduates' evaluations, the combination of the sentence-level grammatical problems and the lack of external marking resulted in the relative incomprehensibility of explanations like these.

The following six discourse moves were examined: definition, example/illustration, restatement/rephrasing, identification/naming, intro-duction/new topic, and summary/review. The coding of the discourse cues was done by the researcher and a graduate student. Disputed items were removed from the analysis. Examples of the macro-markers included in this study are given below. Some are overtly marked, while others are not; some contain reference to the discourse function itself, while others introduce a portion of the explanation which will presumably follow the utterance given here.

Definition:
6. I give you the definition of instantaneous velocity.

Example:
7. We know in the early 1976 (sic) Challenger falling down.

Restatement:
8. That means between these times the car we think it's the same acceleration.

Identification:
9. Physiologist call this protective reflexion.

Introduction/new topic:
10. I want speak something about temperature.

Summary:
11. That's what it mean a binary operation.

Results

The following are the pooled responses for the two groups of raters. Raters were asked to evaluate various components of the speakers' language proficiency and ability to explain on a scale of 0 to 3, with a total possible score of 18. Clearly, on the language proficiency portions, the NSs would be expected to receive a score of 3. Table 1 displays group scores of how undergraduates and experts rated the three sets of data. The NSTAs are not divided into planned and unplanned since both were part of a single presentation.

Table 1: Average Ratings given to NSTAs and ITAs

	Unplanned	Planned	NS
Undergraduates	9.48	10.79	17.73
ESL specialists	10.81	12.23	17.78

Clearly, the NSs are rated by both groups as the more comprehensible and the more skilled at providing explanations. There is a less drastic but still noticeable difference between the evaluation of the NNS planned and unplanned presentations. Post-evaluation interviews with the raters confirmed this finding. When asked to rate which among the NNSs were the easiest to understand, they generally rated the planned production higher than the unplanned. In each batch of eight, judges were asked to pick the two speakers they thought were the most effective. Planned presentations were chosen by 78%, 83% and 67% of the judges for the three batches. The raters had not been informed of the difference between the presentations; they were simply told that they would see each ITA twice.

An examination of the production data points to two questions: first, whether certain moves are marked at all, and second, the degree of elaboration in marking. The percentage of marked discourse moves in the six categories under investigation for the two groups is given in Table 2. The first column in each section shows the number of discourse moves made in each category by each speaker group and in each condition. It can be seen that the absolute *number* of moves does not differ a great deal for the ITAs in the unplanned and planned conditions. The NSTAs of course have lower numbers since there were only five of them, compared to 24 ITAs, and since their unplanned segments were much shorter than their planned segments.

Table 2: Percentage of marked discourse moves

	NNS unplan		NNS plan		NS unplan		NS plan	
	disc. moves	% marked	disc. moves	% mark	disc. moves	% mark	disc. moves	% mark
definitions	81	55.56%	69	68.12%	5	80.00%	20	70.00%
illust/examples	62	61.29%	77	77.92%	17	70.59%	37	62.16%
restatements	73	41.10%	85	64.71%	21	52.38%	42	59.52%
identifications	75	49.33%	70	58.57%	9	55.56%	24	54.17%
introductions	16	62.50%	21	76.19%	0	00.00%	16	87.50%
summaries	11	54.55%	20	70.00%	2	100.00%	11	81.82%
TOTALS	**318**	**52.20%**	**342**	**68.13%**	**54**	**62.96%**	**150**	**65.33%**

The second issue to be addressed is the degree and kind of elaboration. As mentioned earlier, some marking contains reference to speaker intention or some sort of advance warning regarding the information which is about to be transmitted, as in examples (1) and (3). In these cases, the discourse move is decomposed. First, the speaker announces what he is going to do, then he does it. This presumably would increase the salience of the point being made. In other instances, there is no such decomposition, but the utterance contains some sort of identification of its function, such as in examples (2) and (3). These are what are called explicit markers in Tables 3 through 6. In other cases, the function of the discourse move is more implicit, with the clarity of the move's function perhaps depending on other contextual factors in the presentation. In example (12), we see a more implicitly marked introduction or topic shift. Algebraic calculations were, in fact, only introduced into the lecture after this point:

12. We talk a little bit algebra.

In unmarked utterances, of course, there is no such identification and the function of the utterance is relatively difficult to discern. Example (13) is actually a definition which was used to introduce this topic for the first time:

13. Contour line is the symbol in topographic map we can project
the two dimension to the three dimension shape.

The lack of functional markings, along with the use of simple juxtaposition in place of syntactically marked embedding make this utterance extremely difficult to process.

The following four tables show the degree of elaboration present in each of the marked discourse moves for the two speaker groups under the two conditions.

Table 3: Kind of elaboration in marking of discourse moves: ITA Unplanned

	Total	spkr intent %	explicit %	implicit %
definitions	45	28.99%	53.33%	17.78%
illust/examples	38	7.89%	68.42%	23.68%
restatements	30	13.33%	70.00%	13.33%
identifications	37	00.00%	67.57%	32.43%
introductions	10	50.00%	20.00%	30.00%
summaries	6	16.67%	33.33%	50.00%
TOTALS	**166**	**15.66%**	**59.64%**	**23.49%**

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Table 4: Kinds of elaboration in marking of discourse moves: ITA Planned

	Total	spkr intent %	explicit %	implicit %
definitions	47	34.04%	59.57%	6.38%
illust/examples	60	21.67%	73.33%	5.00%
restatements	55	16.36%	78.18%	5.45%
identifications	41	2.44%	75.61%	21.95%
introductions	16	75.00%	25.00%	00.00%
summaries	14	50.00%	42.86%	7.14%
TOTALS	**233**	**24.89%**	**66.95%**	**8.15%**

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Table 5: Kinds of Elaboration in Marking of Discourse Moves: NS Unplanned

	Total	spkr intent %	explicit %	implicit %
definitions	4	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%
illust/examples	12	33.33%	50.00%	16.67%
restatements	11	18.18%	63.64%	18.18%
identifications	5	0.00%	40.00%	60.00%
introductions	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
summaries	2	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%
TOTALS	**34**	**17.65%**	**55.88%**	**26.47%**

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Table 6: Kinds of Elaboration in Marking of Discourse Moves: NS Planned

	Total	spkr intent %	explicit %	implicit %
definitions	14	35.71%	57.14%	7.14%
illust/examples	23	21.74%	65.22%	13.04%
restatements	25	16.00%	68.00%	16.00%
identifications	13	0.00%	76.92%	23.08%
introductions	14	71.43%	28.57%	0.00%
summaries	9	55.56%	33.33%	11.11%
TOTALS	**98**	**29.59%**	**58.16%**	**12.24%**

Discussion

For the ITAs, the planned discourse was found to contain more elaborate marking and more of it than the unplanned. But unsupported was the idea that NSTAs do considerably more marking than ITAs. In fact, Tables 4 and 6 show the degree of elaboration in the ITA and NSTA planned presentations to be remarkably similar. Table 2 also shows that the degree to which NSTAs mark their discourse moves at all is very similar to that of the ITAs in the unplanned condition. Although the cell sizes are too small to draw any definitive conclusions, there seems to be minimal difference between the planned and unplanned conditions for the NSTAs, at least insofar as the absolute use of marking is concerned. There is also no clear trend in the kinds or degree of elaboration used by the NSTAs in the planned versus the unplanned condition.

The big difference lies between the ITA planned and unplanned conditions. Yet, in spite of the minimal difference in marking and elaboration between the ITA planned and the NSTA data, undergraduate and ESL instructor raters understood the NSTAs far more easily. This would indicate that the NSTAs do not need to mark as much or as elaborately as the ITAs in order to be understood. They have other ways of making their presentations comprehensible. Tyler's research (1988, 1989) certainly indicates that comprehensibility, or lack thereof, has multiple sources. It is possible that the NSTAs choose to exploit other means of expressing themselves clearly than the extensive use of macro-markers. For ITAs, on the other hand, the increased and more elaborated use of marking appeared to enhance comprehensibility considerably.

Table 7: Grammatical Accuracy and Complexity

	Mean clauses/T-unit	SD	t	Mean err/clause	SD	t
Unplanned	1.20	.20	4.92*	54	.13	.92**
Planned	1.44	.14		.62	.12	

*p<.01 **n.s.

It is, of course, possible that there were other differences between the planned and unplanned conditions which had little to do with discourse marking, namely, grammatical accuracy and complexity. A two-minute section from each of the ITA tapes was scored for these features, following the method suggested by Bardovi-Harlig and Boffman (1989). The results are seen in Table 7. The measure of complexity is T-units per clause. The measure of accuracy is errors per clause. The three error types described by Bardovi-Harlig and Boffman--syntactic, lexical-idiomatic, and morphological--were combined for a general error count.

As can be seen from Table 7, it appears that differences in accuracy level cannot explain the differences in ratings, since the two presentations do not differ significantly in this respect. This is consistent with Crookes (1989), who used error-free T-units as a measure of accuracy and found no significant differences between the two conditions. As regards complexity, the planned production is indeed more complex than the unplanned. Again, these results are similar to those of Crookes who found that on several different measures, the planned condition was favored, but that the differences did not reach significance. Differences in phonological accuracy and speaking rate, while certainly important (see Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler, 1988) were not specifically measured here. The planned speech did appear to be somewhat more rapid, as seen in a slightly higher T-unit count for the two-minute coded segments.

The implication of these findings on discourse marking is that ITAs need to use more elaborated discourse markers in order to overcome other comprehensibility difficulties that may be the result of more local problems, such as pronunciation. This means that they should *not* necessarily be targeting NS behavior. In this instance, they may need to go beyond it in order to achieve the same result as the NSTAs in terms of comprehensibility. Of course, we can only speculate as to whether further elaboration would increase student comprehension. It may be that these ITAs have gone as far as they can go in improving comprehensibility by increasing marking of discourse moves and that further increases can only come from other improvements in other skill areas.

The results of this study indicate that we need to take into account the tasks involved in measuring the efficacy of instruction. In the unplanned condition, these ITAs were unable to put into operation what they had been taught to the same extent as in the planned condition. Since the macro-markers at issue here are signals of long-range planning, it seems likely that the speakers were only able to encode them when there was sufficient planning time. The use of such elaborated marking does not appear to be automatic for these speakers. For the NSTAs, on the other hand, the lack of planning time seemed to make relatively little difference in whether and how much they marked their discourse moves. For them, the use of such marking appears to be relatively automatic and, at least in the case of these NSTAs who had had no specific training in presentation skills, independent of instruction.

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[1] This research was supported by a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education. This is an expanded version of presentations made at the AAAL Conference, Washington, D.C. and the Second Language Research Forum, Eugene, OR. I would like to thank Barbara Hoekje and Margie Berns for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

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